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"By identifying the new learning with heresy, you make orthodoxy synonymous with ignorance." Erasmus.

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ALFRED FAWKES.

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Editor of *The Modern Churchman.*

THE GENIUS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

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An effort to meet the need for clear, short, truthful books dealing with the Christian Religion from the standpoint of those who while accepting the main results of modern scientific, historical, and literary research, are yet believers in the Christian Religion and working members of the Church of England.

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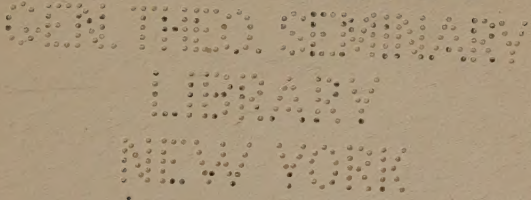
THE GENIUS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

BY ALFRED FAWKES, M.A.

VICAR OF ASHBY ST. LEDGERS

"O pray for the peace of Jerusalem: they shall prosper that love thee.
Peace be within thy walls; and plenteousness within thy palaces.
For my brethren and companions' sakes I will wish thee prosperity.
Yea, because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek to do thee good."

PSALM CXXII. 6–9.



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"By a Modernist, I mean a Churchman, of any sort, who believes in the possibility of a synthesis between the essential truth of his religion and the essential truth of modernity."—GEORGE TYRRELL.

FOREWORD

THE *Modern Churchman's Library* is intended to meet the needs of that educated body of readers who desire clear, short, truthful books dealing with the Christian Religion. Such readers have themselves no time for research, but they wish to know the truth and how the acceptance of the truth by a Christian man bears upon his religious faith and practice.

The writers of this series are scholars and thinkers who accept the main results of modern scientific, historic, and literary criticism, but at the same time they are believers in the Christian Religion and are working members of the Church of England. But above all they are truth-seekers and desire to be truth-speakers.

HENRY D. A. MAJOR.

COPGROVE RECTORY, HARROGATE,
Michaelmas, 1917.

PREFACE

The title of this book is so palpable a plagiarism that it seems to call for an explanation. The author of "Le Génie du Christianisme" was neither a theologian nor a philosopher; but it is probable that his lay apologetic did more to bring about the Catholic revival of the Post-Revolution period than the treatises of professional theologians or speculative thinkers. He was a man of affairs, not a man either of the school or the sacristy; and his advocacy was such as to commend itself to that average lay opinion on which, in the last resort, institutions, religious as well as civil, rest. If, taken on its own merits, this famous work is a sufficiently indifferent performance; judged by its results, it is a great, a very great, book. The religious questions of to-day go deeper than those by which Chateaubriand was confronted: but apologists will do well to approach them on his large, non-technical, and secular, or lay, lines.

The writer's aim has been, as far as possible, to avoid the controversial side of his subject; to state facts rather than opinions, leaving these facts to suggest, if not the conclusions indicated by them, at least the direction in which these conclusions lie. If he has not always been successful, while claiming no immunity from those shortcomings,

> quas aut incuria fudit,
> Aut humana parum cavit natura,

he would urge that controversy is sometimes raised, particularly in religious subject matter, over what is not in fact open to controversy; and that we are apt to see things rather as we should like them to be than as they really are. The Church of England is a comprehensive Church; and which of the various schools of thought which it comprehends commends itself to us is a matter in which temperament plays a great, probably the leading, part. But "the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets;" and temperament can neither over-master reason nor construct facts. Facts are given, not created; and are the measure, if not the complete content, of thought.

Yet, while reason is the regulative faculty, and no human activity can escape from its control, the life is "more than meat and the body than raiment;" a religion which was

rational only would bring with it leanness of soul. Enthusiasm is the condition of fertility; "c'est par le sentiment que les semences du bien sont jetées sur le monde." This is evoked mainly on the side of feeling or emotion; and, if Christianity as such has, as Chateaubriand urged, its distinctive genius, the several Churches have each their own. Nor is national patriotism either in Church or State inconsistent with universal. We rise from particular to general forms of association; and the qualities which have been called into play on the lower levels are exercised on the higher, where they develop larger powers and a wider range. It is more than the accident of birth which leads Englishmen to regard the Church of England with affection; but national sentiment, even in religion, is not a thing for which we need apologize; it justifies itself on the ground both of head and of heart. The English Church represents—idealized, as a Church should—our national temperament and outlook, uniting the historical associations of the old order with the vigorous vitality of the new. Contrasted with those of Rome, her claims are modest. She aims at no world-wide dominion; representing the shape taken, in God's Providence, by the Christian idea in this country, she dwells among her own people, and speaks to them in their own tongue. She has retained the traditional

sanctities of Christendom—the Liturgy, the Ministry, and the Creeds. But she has retained them purified from the parasitic growths with which the times of ignorance overlaid them; her title-deeds are neither "sees and successions," nor creed-content and formularies, but the possession of the Spirit—the expression and ever-changing presentation of the growing life and conscience of mankind. Human passions have played their part in her history; in religion as elsewhere the colours of good and evil are mixed. But these "old religious factions are volcanoes burnt out; on the lava, and ashes, and squalid scoriæ of old eruptions grow the peaceful olive, the cheering vine, and the sustaining corn." The sufficient reason of the National Church is to be found in its correspondence to the religious requirements of the nation; like the Sabbath, it was "made for man."

And—it is the sum of the whole:—

> "If you think it to be an invaluable blessing, a way fully sufficient to nourish a manly, rational, solid, and at the same time humble, piety; if you find it well fitted to the frame and pattern of your civil constitution; if you find it a barrier against fanaticism, infidelity, and atheism; if you find that it furnishes support to the human mind in the afflictions and distresses of the world, consolation in sickness, pain, poverty, and death; if it dignifies our

nature with the hope of immortality, leaves enquiry free, whilst it preserves an authority to teach, where authority only can teach, *communia altaria, æque ac patriam, diligite, colite, fovete.*"[1]

The writer desires to express his thanks to Mr. Murray, who has kindly allowed him in more than one place to make use of his "Studies in Modernism" (Smith, Elder & Co., 1913); and to the Dean of Durham, who has been good enough to read the present work in proof, and to whose valuable suggestions it owes much.

A. F.

Ashby St Ledgers,
Michaelmas, 1917.

[1] Burke, on the Petition of the Unitarians.

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THE GENIUS OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH

I

THE VIA MEDIA

"It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since the first compiling of her Publick Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes."—Preface to the Prayer-book.

"It has always seemed to me that an extreme fondness for 'our dear mother the Panther'[1] is a snare. Human institutions, being necessarily full of imperfections, require to be viewed with an impartial judgment, not idealized by an uncritical affection."[2] Here is a fresh breeze of common sense scattering the cobwebs which accumulate in unswept corners. For to idealize an institution, however venerable, is often to idealize its least admirable features, and so to perpetuate that time-and-place element which should disappear in the movement

[1] "Life and Correspondence of Thomas Arnold." A. P. Stanley, p. 292.

[2] *Ibidem*, pp. 379, 360.

of life. When Arnold wrote (1833) the attitude which he criticized was the badge of a party which had set itself in opposition to this movement, a party whose tendencies he believed to be Judaizing, and whose distinctive tenet—that of Church authority—he profoundly distrusted. "I am satisfied that Church Authority, whether early or late, is as rotten a staff as ever was Pharaoh King of Egypt's—it will go into a man's hand to pierce him." But there is a natural gravitation among ideas: with the later representatives of this school, it is the Hind that is idealized; the Panther has become a term of reproach.[1] And those who now look with affection and reverence to the Church of England are men of Arnold's own large outlook, who see in her the time-honoured presentation of English religion—a religion historical, yet reformed; evangelical, yet reasonable; devout, yet sober. "We may be thankful to God," says a teacher to whom many of us owe much, "who has preserved us this ancient house of our fathers—with all its faults, the best and most tolerant of the Churches of Christendom, and the least opposed to the spirit of the age."[2] Nor is testimony from without wanting. "I have

[1] The allusion is to Dryden's famous controversial poem, "The Hind and the Panther," published after his conversion to Romanism.

[2] "Sermons Biographical and Miscellaneous." B. Jowett, p. 292.

no doubt of its being an integral part of the Church Catholic," writes Father Tyrrell: and the very features of the Anglican compromise at which our own enthusiasts stumble were, he thought, its excellencies. "No communion is so simultaneously conscious of both sides of the shield;" "ambiguity has been the deliberate aim of its most distinctive formulæ;" and, "the *true* Anglican is neither the dogmatic Protestant, nor the dogmatic sacerdotalist, but the illogical vague middle man."[1]

The Via Media, then, is not a thing for which we need apologize. Its sufficient reason is that the Fallacy of Logic is the greatest of the fallacies; because, our premises being at best approximate, the more rigorously we reason from them the more certain it is that our conclusions will be wide of the mark. Consistency, says Emerson, is the essence of absurdity. Hence the less theology deals in abstract reasonings the better. Such reasonings multiply errors, lessen charity, engender divisions, and strain faith.

Catholic *v.* Protestant

The word "Catholic" is used in more than one sense. At first it signified the universal diffusion of the Christian Church, as opposed to the local and particular character of the

[1] "Autobiography and Life of George Tyrrell." M. D. Petre, ii. ch. 18.

various paganisms, and of the heretical sects. So, by a curious instance of word-transference, a recent Jewish writer speaks of "Catholic Israel," meaning "the religious consciousness of the bulk of the nation," as opposed to that of the "sects hovering on the borderland of Judaism."[1] Its general use dates from the prevalence of the Trinitarian and Christological heresies which came to a head in the fourth century. To distinguish it from the separatist communities which professed these errors, the official Church of the Universal, or Catholic, Empire was known as the Universal, or Catholic, Church.[2] That "Catholic" connoted "Roman" is, therefore, true; but this connotation was actual, not dogmatic. Like "Orthodox" in the East, "Catholic" in the West was a political, not a theological, appellation; the reference being not to the Papacy, which, in the theological sense of the word, did not then exist, but to Rome as the seat of Universal Empire, the centre of the civilized world. The centralizing ecclesiastical movement followed the lines of the already centralized commonwealth.

> "The analogy of the two movements made them appear parts of one great world-

[1] "Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology." S. Schechter, p. viii.

[2] Edict of Gratian, A.D. 380. (In Mirbt's "Quellen," p. 49.)

movement towards unity: the coincidence of their boundaries, which had begun before Constantine, lasted long enough after him to associate them indissolubly together, and make the names of Roman and Christian convertible."[1]

It is in this sense that the word is used in the Creeds, where the opposition is to contemporary heresies. And, in this sense, the Church of England, in common with the great Churches of the Reformation, is Catholic. The orthodoxy of her Articles on these questions is undoubted; and she has retained the Catholic Creeds. From the point of view, however, of later history and usage "Catholic" is opposed to "Protestant," and is the name given to those Christians who adhered to the Papal obedience at the Reformation. In this sense the Church of England cannot be called Catholic; for, while not a little of the old polity and ceremonial was preserved, and a considerable latitude in doctrine tolerated, England separated from the Papacy at the Reformation and renounced both the Supremacy and the Teaching Magisterium of Rome. Extreme Protestants, indeed, disparaged the English Reformation as imperfect — the Vestiarian controversy began early, and, though its parts are now reversed, is still with us; while, from the Roman side,

[1] "The Holy Roman Empire." Bryce, ch. vii.

Dryden, comparing the English Church with the other Reformed Churches, styles her

> "the noblest next the Hind,
> And fairest creature of the spotted kind."

But, though her continuity is more obvious than theirs, continuity is not catholicity. The continuity of the Church of England in point of law is a fact; and there is a sense in which every Christian communion possesses a certain continuity of belief, and worship. But continuity, religious or civil, is consistent with great and far-reaching changes. The national life of France, *e.g.*, is continuous materially and morally; but the monarchy, which for so many centuries was its symbol and guarantee, has disappeared.

A certain asperity, which does not properly belong to it, has been imported into this discussion by the assumption that "Catholic" is a title of honour and "Protestant" a term of reproach. But this is matter of opinion. What is matter of fact is that in no country in Europe would members of the English Church be described as Catholics; and that the great majority of them would not describe themselves in this way. The inference to be drawn from this is not any value judgment as to the respective merits of Catholic or Protestant Christianity; but that, as a matter of fact, the conventions of language have assigned

certain meanings to certain terms. To disregard these conventions is to use words in a non-natural sense. At the same time it must be admitted that there is an incongruity in speaking of persons who hold the opinions of what are called "advanced" Anglicans as Protestants. No one would do so who did not wish to offend them, or who had not a controversial axe to grind. One might perhaps speak of "Catholicizing" in this connection, or of a "Catholic party," or "school."

Anglican Orders

The same must be said of the much-discussed question of Anglican Orders. Into this also considerations of another order have been imported, to the obscuring of facts which in themselves are not obscure. For it has been assumed on both sides that "Orders," in the sense in which the word is used by Roman Catholic theologians, in connection with the so-called Sacrament of Orders, confer certain supernatural and, in effect, magical powers on those ordained; and that a clergy which does not possess those powers stands on a lower level than a clergy which does. Hence embitterment on each side. The Anglican resents the notion that the means of grace at his disposal are less efficacious than those dispensed by the Roman Catholic clergy; while the Roman, remembering the Penal Laws

against persons who said, or heard, mass, and the summary denunciation of the "Sacrifices of Masses" in our 31st Article, is indignant at the claim of an Anglican minister to the standing of a mass priest. Those who regard the claim of the clergy, whether Roman or Anglican, to the possession of these powers as a point rather of historical than of actual importance, will see the controversy in a drier light. The question of Orders, now so prominent, did not come to the front in the sixteenth century. The political controversy between Catholic and Protestant centred in the Papacy; the religious in the Mass. It would never have occurred to an Elizabethan to ask whether a Roman canonist was, or was not, bound on his own principles to recognize the "validity" of English Orders. This was a later development of theological controversy. The question involved in Parker's consecration was an important one; but it was legal, not theological. Was he, it was asked, the lawful Archbishop of Canterbury? It was not asked, Was he validly consecrated?—*i.e.* Was he a real bishop?—the question did not present itself in this way. The lines on which the German Reformation took place throw light on this. The Lutherans, who could have retained the episcopal succession and form of Church government, had they wished to do so, and whose doctrine of Consubstantiation would seem to modern theologians to require it, let

it go. Sweden was an exception. There seven superintendents (who afterwards took the title of bishops) were appointed, 1537, and consecrated: much of the old ritual was continued, and the Reformation, as with ourselves, carried out on conservative lines. The explanation of the general indifference of Protestants to the subject was that both the conditions of Orders, and the connection of Orders with the other Sacraments, were still in the stage of theological conclusions; and that, pre-Tridentine theology being less systematized and developed than post-Tridentine, these conclusions were not universally drawn. The distinction between a clergy elected by the people and one set apart by authority was recognized; Article 23 states it: but what this authority exactly was is not defined. The Article does not make episcopal, or indeed any, ordination a condition of the exercise of the ministry. The sovereign, or public power—those "who have public authority given to them in the Congregation to call and send ministers into the Lord's Vineyard"—it is here that it places the source of mission and jurisdiction, from which it does not distinguish order. But, though it has in view lawfulness, not what we now call validity, the English law makes ordination by a bishop a condition of the lawful exercise of the English ministry, and disclaims any break with the received usage.

> "To the intent that these Orders may be *continued* . . . in the Church of England, no man shall be accounted or taken to be a *lawful* Bishop, Priest, or Deacon in the Church of England, or suffered to execute any of the said Functions, except he be called, tried, examined and admitted thereunto according to the Form hereafter following, or hath formerly had Episcopal Consecration or Ordination."

In practice exceptions were admitted; but this was the rule. In 1561 Cecil, to whom it would be an anachronism to attribute the later Nonjuring or Tractarian theory of Episcopacy, discussing with the Spanish ambassador, De Quadra, the contingency of the attendance of the English bishops at the Council of Trent, assumed, as if it were a point on which no difficulty could be raised, that "having been apostolically ordained, and not merely elected by a congregation, like Lutheran or Calvinist heretics (the phrase is De Quadra's) they would be admitted to sit with the rest."[1] Had Pius IV. wished to conciliate Elizabeth, this would probably have been done: but little importance was attached to the question, and the necessity for deciding it did not arise. For

> "the point where Protestants and Catholics approached each other was in the Lutheran theory of Consubstantiation. The First

[1] "History of England." J. A. Froude, vi. p. 482.

> Prayer-book of Edward VI., with lighted candles on the altar, would have been a thousand times more congenial to conforming recusants than the clearest evidence for the bishops of an unblemished apostolic pedigree." [1]

It has been held that the purpose of the Ornaments Rubric was to bring this country within the terms of the Peace of Augsburg.[2] When it was the Queen's purpose to accentuate the Catholic side of English religion, she did not assert the unbroken succession of the bishops; she increased the ceremonial in her chapel. The fear of wars of religion was never far from sixteenth-century rulers; and we may be certain that Elizabeth, who knew her world better than any contemporary sovereign, took the surest means to preserve the public peace. Nothing took place to break any succession which may have existed in the Mediæval Church, or to affect any religious values supposed to attach to such a succession. This would have defeated her purpose: the Roman Catholic invective against Anglican Orders will convince only

[1] *Ibidem*, xii. 501.

In his Primary Charge (1898) Archbishop Temple identified the teaching of Mr Bennett, of Frome, which the Privy Council refused to condemn, with Consubstantiation; and argued that this doctrine was an open question in the Church of England. "Life," ii. 291.

[2] History of the Reformation, ii. 405. T. M. Lindsay, D.D.

those who are convinced, or willing to be convinced, of the Roman position on other grounds. In its present acute form the controversy is scarcely older than the Oxford Movement. "The Hind and the Panther" is a controversial poem; but it touched the succession, if at all, lightly; and such lines as

> "Her front erect with majesty she bore,
> The crozier wielded and the mitre wore,"

would not pass a Roman Censor to-day. The Bull *Apostolicæ Curæ* (1896), by which the hopes of those who attach importance to the recognition of Anglican Orders by Rome were finally destroyed, breathes another spirit. What theologically minded Anglicans seem unable to see is that Rome is indifferent to the theological aspect of the question, and regards it as one of politics. This subordination of religion, of theology, and in general of ideas, to policy is the key to the action of the modern Papacy—to its breach with the French Republic; to its condemnation of Modernism; to its Laodicean neutrality in the present war. It is because the English bishops and clergy shut their eyes to this so resolutely that their estimate of Roman Catholicism is so invariably and so amazingly wide of the mark. If it had been thought that the, partial or complete, recognition of Anglican Orders would in any way have advanced the cause of the Papacy, either in England or on the

Continent, it is foolish to suppose that any theological argument would have been allowed to stand in the way. For a short time Leo XIII. was misled into thinking that their recognition would be politic; and therefore wished to admit them. He was convinced by those who knew the facts that more was to be gained by their condemnation; and they were condemned in unqualified terms. "Certa scientia pronuntiamus et declaramus, ordinationes ritu Anglicano actas irritas prorsus fuisse et esse, omninoque nullas."[1] The pronouncement would have left the Elizabethan bishops unmoved. A few years only lay between them and Roman rule; and they were better acquainted with the character and value of Papal utterances than their successors. Nor had they had time to forget that English episcopacy is based rather on expediency than on principle. The statesmen who framed the Elizabethan settlement of religion held, with Selden, that "they are equally mad who say bishops are so *jure divino* that they must be continued; and they who say they are so antichristian that they must be put away. All is as the State likes."[2]

[1] The text will be found in "Denzinger's Enchiridion," ed. 1911. "We pronounce and declare of our certain knowledge that the ordinations celebrated according to the Anglican rite have been and are invalid and wholly null."

[2] "Table Talk," viii.

National *v.* Denominational

The conception of the nation and the Church as coextensive is an inheritance from the Middle Ages. Mediæval thinkers, indeed, carried it a stage further, seeing in the Church, as in the Empire, an international society in which racial and political distinctions were overcome. The defects of the institutions in which this conception was embodied must not blind us to its grandeur. For the time being, the Reformation divorced the national idea from the international. The States System of Europe took the place of the Holy Roman Empire, which lingered as a survival; the several Churches took that of the Holy Roman Church, now a shadow of its former self and a fragment of a shattered whole. But the ideal retains its ideal value. As local patriotism is not inconsistent with national, nor national with European citizenship, so a national Church is a stage on the way to a universal—a conception which was insufficiently emphasized in Mediæval Christendom, and on which, on its dissolution, the weight fell. In England it was a central feature of the Reformation conception of religion; the Church was the nation on its religious side. The development of Dissent without and of sectionalism within the Church has given rise to a narrower view. Church and State are sharply contrasted.

> "No good will come to a State that assumes officially the non-existence of God as a basis for legislation,"[1]

says a living bishop: and another

> "The most fundamental of all these scandals —the cause at bottom of all the others— is that we should have been content and should still be content, in defiance of the intentions of Christ and of the spirit of the Church, to suffer the Church of England to lack the power of self-government."[2]

Parliament, however, represents the nation; and the Church of England is a national Church. And it is certain that Parliamentary control is a condition of Establishment, and of the advantages—they are moral even more than material—which go with Establishment. Establishment stands, or falls, with national as distinct from denominational control. It is to be desired that every English citizen should be a "practising" member of the National Church. But, whether he is so or not, politically he cannot divest himself of his character of membership; and, if there is an incongruity in the fractional control which this membership confers on an individual being vested in a Dissenter or an unbeliever, there is no less indecorum in its being placed, as has often

[1] "On Divorce." The Bishop of Zanzibar, p. 11.
[2] "The Religion of the Church." Bishop of Oxford, p. 178.

been the case, tests or no tests, in the hands of an irreligious or a morally bad man. The present relaxation of this Parliamentary control is not a favourable symptom: what it means is that the country is indifferent, perhaps not to religion, but certainly to the Church. If ecclesiastical administration is increasingly left in the hands of a party—"the dominance of the 'Good Churchmen' still continues," a Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History reminds us[1]—it is because no important body of public opinion is interested in the matter. Should there be a revival of public interest there will also be a revival of the exercise of public control.

Cautious as they may appear, the effect of the modifications in the relation of Church and State suggested in the Report of the Archbishops' Committee (1917) would be to shift the centre of gravity from the Crown and Parliament to certain clerical or mixed assemblies acting on denominational principles and influenced by denominational ideas. There is a real danger of this shifting being brought about inadvertently, and through sheer inertness on the part of the country. It is probable that not more than a small minority whether of Churchmen or of the electorate desires it; but it is also probable that an even smaller minority of either will take the trouble to resist it. For while the extremist is, as a rule,

[1] "The Church of England." Canon Watson, p. 249.

zealous and energetic, the average Churchman is, and seems to be increasingly, "parcus deorum cultor et infrequens";—a sparing and infrequent worshipper—and the Church suffers from his indifference—"the violent bear it away." The power of self-government claimed for the Church is, history shows, a δῶρον ἄδωρον —a gift that is no gift. One of the wisest of English bishops foresaw its danger.

> "There are not a few among our brethren who consider this liberty so desirable that, in their opinion, it outweighs all the advantages of an Establishment, which, without it, are in their eyes but gilded fetters, the price of a degrading bondage. I entirely dissent from this opinion. I have no sympathy with the motives of those who hold it. I believe that the kind of liberty which they desire would be a grinding tyranny, and the worst calamity that could befall the Church."[1]

The temper of the Church Press and of Convocation gives a certain ring of prophecy to his words. The changes now proposed, if slight in form, are grave in implication. That Parliament shall legislate for the Church, and that the Final Court of Appeal shall be civil, not spiritual, is, as things stand, a condition of the mental and moral independence of the clergy, and of the freedom of the Church. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council

[1] "Bishop Thirlwall." Charge, 1869.

represents "substantially the same authority which has been established in the Church ever since the Reformation."[1] And it would be a measure at once of revolution and of reaction were these expert judges to be replaced by clergymen without legal knowledge, temper, or training; unaccustomed to deal with evidence, and subject to the prepossessions and limitations of their class. Nor would the addition of lay assessors, representative of the popular orthodoxies, mend matters. For such persons

> "do not represent the true lay mind of the Church, still less the lay intelligence of the whole country. They are often excellent men, given to good works, but they are also usually the partisans of some special clerical school; they are, in short, clergymen under another form rather than the real laity themselves."[2]

And, were a new "Essays and Reviews" case to come before the Courts—which we may hope is unlikely—the writers would probably prefer to be tried by the present Courts than by a Committee of Convocation, sitting in conjunction with assessors from the House of Laymen, in the Church House.

[1] "The National Church." Sir Edward Clarke, K.C., p. 9.

[2] "Essays on Church and State." A. P. Stanley, p. 350.

The Critical Movement

The application of critical and historical methods to religion is displeasing to many excellent people: to judge from much popular apologetic one would suppose that criticism, as such, was destructive, and the critic an iconoclast, out to destroy. Neither is the case. Criticism is neither destructive nor constructive, but scientific. It is, as it were, a note of interrogation: it asks, Are these things so? If they are, there can be no question of destruction: if they are not, the sooner we know where we stand, the better. The function of the critic is not to "roar in the midst of the congregation," but something more modest; to sift evidence, to examine beliefs, to test institutions. A humorous divine speaks of "Professor Sanday's yearly statement, comparable to the weather report, as to 'What we may still believe.'"[1] If the value of our articles of faith were measured by their number, such a statement might be disquieting. Otherwise it need not disturb us: there was a time, we may remember, when heretics were burned in obedience to what was thought to be an apostolic command —*Hæreticum hominem de vita;*[2] and when

[1] "Some Loose Stones." R. A. Knox, p. 35.

[2] Titus iii. 10 (Vulgate reading). Exodus xxii. 18. The R.V. translates "Refuse": a popular mediæval rendering "was put to death."

witchcraft was treated as a capital offence, on the strength of the Mosaic law. Such superstitions have disappeared—thanks to criticism. Quantity is not quality in belief; and the argument from consent is fallacious, being in effect an appeal to the ignorance of the many from the knowledge of the few. If we think that religion as it exists in this country, even among relatively enlightened persons, is free from these evil growths, we deceive ourselves. It is not; it has much, very much, to fear from them. English religion possesses piety, benevolence, zeal. But it is deficient in veracity and in the sense of the actual. The rest will not save it. It is on the recovery of this veracity and of this sense of the actual that its future depends. For the intellectual virtues have their place in religion as well as the moral—which, taken apart from them, degenerate and run to seed. And a fundamental truth underlies the two apparent paradoxes of the philosopher: Virtue is knowledge; and—Virtue is One.

II

THE CHURCH AND THE MOVEMENTS

"The truths about which we are disputing cannot partake of the passing stir; they do not change even with the greater revolutions of human things. They are in eternity; and the image of them on earth is not the movement on the surface of the waters, but the depths of the silent sea."—JOWETT.

THERE is a general impression that the prospects of the Church of England in its present shape are uncertain. Her divisions are acute; and though, for the time being, these disruptive tendencies are held in check by her historical association with the State, it would be unwise to count upon the permanence of this connection. Her hold on the section of the nation on whose support she could formerly reckon is weakening; she has never been the Church of the people—in the sense in which the term may be used of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, or the Roman Catholic in Ireland; and she has been profoundly affected by the decline of religious observance which is so marked a characteristic of our time. She cannot, like the Church of

Rome, fall back upon a hard and fast discipline, godly or the reverse; nor, being a State Church, and so under public control, can she easily adapt her standards and formularies to actual conditions. It is well that it is so. The former policy, that of repression, can never be more than a temporary expedient; and the results, where it has been employed with better prospects of success than would be the case with ourselves, have not been such as to invite imitation: the latter, that of revision, is two-edged, and may be used in the interests either of reaction, or of crude and ill-considered change. The first would, under present circumstances, be our own danger; the second is, perhaps, that of the Nonconformist Churches, where the greater facility of adaptation has proved an insufficient safeguard; in spite of it these Churches have lost, and are losing, ground.

If, however, we are free from the disadvantages of Absolutism, on the one hand, and of Democratic Control on the other, the impression left by the English Church is one of a certain ineffectualness. Other Churches are doing something, whatever it is and whatever comes of it, to meet "the present distress"; we, it seems, are doing nothing. But—*cunctando restituit rem.*[1] Enthusiasts are slow to see how often the wisest policy is to do nothing—or, at least, as little as possible;

[1] So Ennius—of Quintus Fabius Maximus.

how many disputes time solves; and to how many of the questions with which party politicians, religious and secular, busy themselves the best answer is, "I do not know," or "It does not much matter," or—though for the moment it is out of fashion—"Wait, and see."

Some of us are impatient of this Fabian policy. But it is possible that what appears to be its weakness is in fact its strength: and that those who, proposing to us a transparently false dilemma, urge that "either the Bishops are the organ of the Holy Ghost, or they are nothing," complain of "Our Lack of Guidance," and call for a summary decision of disputed points, are following an *ignis fatuus*.[1] The Episcopate is neither infallible nor inspired, and its authority is limited by law and reason. A Bishop is the minister of Christ, and, as such, "servus servorum Dei;" an English Bishop is also an official, or public servant, discharging certain official functions defined by the law. In each capacity he may be faced by problems. Where is it not so? To escape problems a man must go out of the world. But the issues raised by life are solved, and can only be solved, by living; experience, not authority, is the guide. A historical Church presents historical difficulties, because it reflects a process which, though persistent, is neither uniform nor

[1] "The Challenge." Nov. 3, 1916.

continuous. What appears to be a retreat, if we look at a small area, is an advance on the larger field.

In religion, as elsewhere, the English instinct is to distrust extreme solutions, and to avoid decisive action. The genius of the nation is political: we temporise, and take a middle course; we are not given to speculation, and do not move easily among ideas. This is why, though Movements bulk large in the history of the English Church, she has never surrendered herself to any movement: they have, in a sense, stood outside her, and she has stood outside them. This Via Media chills enthusiasts; "the very tempers which most require such discipline," says that characteristically Anglican book, "The Christian Year," "setting themselves, in general, most decidedly against it."[1] The mystic and the scholar, however, are to the manner born to it; and it wears well. Enthusiasm is evanescent; "whether there be tongues, they shall cease" But Reason is a wise virgin; her lamp burns with a steady flame. Quench it, and religion is a blind guide of the blind. For no side is so right as to be right in all things. It was not a good thing—it was a bad thing—that Cranmer should be burned by Catholics, and Prynne's ears be cropped by the Star Chamber, or that the Puritans should despise learning and affect

[1] Advertisement.

the language of Canaan; these crimes and follies brought the religious systems with which they were associated into contempt. And those who value a cause intelligently are the first to resent the extravagances which discredit it: for no one have we so profound an antipathy as for the fanatic of our own particular creed.

Each of the great Movements which the English Church has either admitted or produced has left its traces on English religion. It is probable that no good man could have lived through any one of them and remained unaffected by it. He might not, indeed, have identified himself with it; the attitude of the wiser sort has been one of detachment. But we are modified by intellectual and moral as well as by physical climate; and influenced, even where we do not share them, by the ideas of our age. Perhaps to an excess. The spirit of the time in which we live influences, and ought to influence, us; but it often influences us to a greater extent than it ought. Yet, important as these Movements are, the historian of the English Church and of English religion would give an imperfect account of either were he to confine his attention to the troubled surface waters. Below them the deeper stream runs by its own impetus, with its own velocity, and in its own direction. It would be too much to say that the superficial stir does not affect this current at

all. But it affects it very little. The one is an episode, and passes; the other increases, and prevails. And it is this silent stream that counts. It is because the surface froth and scum play so large a part in the Church of our generation that the Church has fallen to so great an extent out of touch with English life and thought. For the English mind takes serious things seriously; and it suspects this platform and professional pietism of being neither serious nor sincere.

From the first the national genius displayed its characteristic features. The two most prominent—they were near of kin—may be described negatively. It refused to isolate religion—*i.e.* to regard it otherwise than as a part of life and civilization in general; and it refused to look at it as a thing to be decided by abstract reasonings. The first of these fallacies—we may call it the Fallacy of Sect—was characteristic of Puritanism, which saw life neither steadily nor whole, and so, with all its great qualities, was never more than a leaven in religion: the second—we may call it the Fallacy of Logic—is characteristic of mediæval, and still more of modern, Catholicism. What it does is to cut thought loose from things. The Definition of Papal Infallibility is an example. It was a defiance of history; this we see clearly enough. What we do not see clearly is that it was also a necessity of logic; given the premises, it was impossible

to avoid the conclusion contained in them. The same must be said of much of the ecclesiastical and sacramental dogma of our advanced High Churchmen. It is, *ex hypothesi*, as inevitable as it is, in fact, untrue. So, in 1870, the fallibility of the Infallible might be, and was, demonstrated; but, for the Roman Catholic, the demonstration was irrelevant—not *ad rem*. For to refuse the dogma was to go outside the Roman Catholic system; with the removal of the keystone, the arch fell. The controversy, which was in itself technical only, and domestic, was of interest to other Churches in so far as it raised the question of the relation of theology to history—a question which opens out many and far-reaching issues as yet unsolved. For, if Liberal Catholicism was strong in history, it was weak in what the Church called theology. It halted between two opinions, and so fell between two stools. This is why the Opposition at the Vatican Council was broken; and why a generation later Modernism collapsed and fell. In each case the Moderate party was tied by concessions, which delivered it, like Samson shorn, into the hands of its opponents; the dice were loaded, and could only fall in one way. The great service done by the Reformation to the Churches which accepted it was that once and for all it revoked these compromising concessions. "The Bible, and the Bible only is the religion of

Protestants"[1] says a great Anglican divine, contrasting Scripture with human creeds and confessions of faith. This was the Great Charter of religious liberty: it made the Reformation the greatest emancipation that the world had ever seen. It is with us still. A Church may postpone, it cannot escape it. And its later forms are more drastic than its earlier; they are politically more far-reaching, and theologically more complete.

The earliest form of Christianity which has left its record among us is the Celtic. This, admirable as a pioneer, or missionary, force, was not calculated to serve as a uniting element in the commonwealth; and, as tribal gave way to national society, the centralized hierarchy, the natural counterpart to and ally of the feudal system, came in as a factor in the development; and Canterbury and York replaced Lindisfarne. It was essential that England should become European—no state could afford to stand outside the comity of nations; and, that it should do so, it was necessary that its Christianity should be that of the central Roman Church. The Pre-Reformation Church, however, though Roman, was Roman within limits. And the question, From heaven, or of men? was open. "The Pope had as good a title by the law of England as could be," says Selden—with whom Marsilius of Padua and his school would

[1] Chillingworth, "Works" (ed. 1838), vol. ii. p. 410.

have been in agreement; "had he not left that, and claimed by power from God."[1] This fiction of divine right was not a new invention; it was all along held in reserve by the Popes, and advanced as occasion served. But the conscience of Europe submitted under protest. For more than a century before the Reformation the Papacy north of the Alps was rather endured than accepted. Had it commanded general assent the separation would have been impossible. This came about because the Supremacy was felt, and felt increasingly, to be an instrument of extortion, a political machine worked for worldly ends by worldly men.

Henry VIII. would have gone little further than its repudiation: his aim was a non-Papal Catholicism, not a Reformed Church. The tide of Western civilization, however, on which the nation was embarked, was too strong to make this possible; the destiny of the country looked the other way. But the movement was guided to a great extent by policy: the clergy drifted; martyrs were few. Bernard Gilpin, whom Mr. Gladstone used to quote as an illustration of the continuity of English religion, was ordained under Henry VIII., and remained undisturbed, though not unthreatened, under Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. Only 200 parish priests were deprived in 1559: in 1662, 2000, and in 1689

[1] "Table Talk," viii.

400 underwent that penalty for a lesser cause. At the Reformation men abjured the Pope under Henry, and the Mass under Edward; they accepted both under Mary, to repudiate them a second time, and finally, under Elizabeth. They were neither sceptical nor godless; to suppose them either would be to misread the age. But they were not accustomed to think for themselves; they had a strong sense of the religious obligation of obedience to authority; and they held theological differences to be an insufficient reason for civil war. Their deliberate judgment was that the forms of religion were of secondary consequence. "These be not matters for burning," the phrase ran.

Puritanism was a religious movement on a large scale. It had all the qualities and all the defects of a religious movement: it was narrow, and it was strong. The political troubles of the time contributed to its vogue; but this vogue was temporary and partial: the Puritans were a powerful faction, but at no time did Puritanism gain the nation as a whole. This was not due to its theology, impossible as this appears to a later generation. The doctrine of Calvin was substantially that of St Augustine. This ensured its acceptance in the Protestant Churches; and a teaching practically indistinguishable from it was then upheld by Thomist theologians in the Catholic Church. For St Augustine was the

Doctor of Grace; and his authority was unquestioned: the system—from which it is the glory of the Jesuit Order, with all its faults, to have delivered Christendom—had been taken over as an evil inheritance from the Mediaeval Church. But the Calvinist discipline—the eldership; the synod, or session, with its excommunication enforced by the civil power—was intolerable to Englishmen, who believed no more in the divine right of presbyters than in that of Popes or bishops. As Hooker pointed out, it consisted neither with monarchy nor with hereditary nobility.[1] With all its faults, Anglicanism was more spacious. The persecuting tendencies of the Stuart Church were political, not religious. Humanists, like Casaubon, gravitated towards it; theologically it was "a large room." Hence Tulloch's acute remark that, "if Romanism may be said to lie in wait for Anglo-Catholicism on one side, there is a sense in which Latitudinarianism springs from it on another."[2] The vogue of such a book as "Faith or Fear" among Anglicans[3] is a modern example of this. And while Puritanism degenerated into the "Dissidence of Dissent," in the Church reflective minds

> "wearied with the ceaseless contention between Puritan and Anglo-Catholic, struck

[1] "Ecclesiastical Polity," Pref. viii.

[2] "Rational Theology in England in the Seventeenth Century," I., 64, 71.

[3] Macmillan, 1916.

their roots deeper than either; and brought into view a wider set of principles, in the light of which the old antagonisms seemed hollow and false."

To many the name of Latitudinarian is suspect. Yet nowhere does the eye of the devout English Churchman rest with greater satisfaction than on the little group of seventeenth-century scholars to which it was first applied. Here is an oasis of rational piety planted by the rivers of waters in an arid and contentious age. "He shall feed me in a green pasture:" here no clamour of polemics drowns the music of Aaron's bells. It is good to think of men of the various types represented by Falkland, and Hales, and Chillingworth; scholars without pedantry, statesmen without self-seeking, divines without intolerance, men of judicious temper, wide knowledge, and large heart. They represent the fine flower of English religion; and they represent it with a note of universality in which what is provincial or of the age disappears. It is difficult to bring Whichcote's Aphorisms under any time and place categories.

"The largest sword, the strongest lungs, the most voices, are false measures of truth."

Might not Socrates have written this? Or Origen this—

"Determinations beyond Scripture have lessened charity and multiplied divisions"?

Or Erasmus these—

> "Truth lies in a narrow room and in a small compass: vitals in religion are few"?

Or—

> "I have always found that such preaching of others hath most commanded my heart which hath most illuminated my head"?

And "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord," he would quote from the Book of Proverbs (xx. 27); or, from a Greek philosopher, "To obey right Reason is the same as to obey God." And—

> "Religion hath different denominations and names, from different actions and circumstances; but it is one thing, viz. universal righteousness. Accordingly it had place at all times—before the law of Moses, under it, and since."

Have we not here an equilibrium in which many a mind that has found the extremer positions of the various theologies meaningless and impossible has come, and will continue to come, to rest?[1]

[1] Tulloch in his "Rational Theology in England in the Seventeenth Century" (Preface, p. xii) reminds us that "The questions discussed by the Liberal Theologians of the seventeenth century are very much the questions still discussed under the name of Broad Churchism. Our present parties have all their representation in the earlier period. The closeness of the parallel not only in its great lines but in some of its special features must strike every attentive reader."

Admirable, however, as it was, this school was academic; its home was in cathedral cloisters and college shades. Methodism brought religion to the people; Evangelicalism to the Church. The defects of the Hanoverian Church have been exaggerated. But, with all its merits, it was wanting in inspiration. Its religion was rather a point of view than a force; and, while recognizing its finer qualities — balance, sanity, reasonableness, qualities which are less conspicuous than could be wished in modern piety—we may admit that it needed to be "clothed upon." Evangelicalism and the Oxford Movement, which was its complement, were attempts in this direction. Both received an impetus from contemporary politics. The Revolution sent men back to religion—some to save their souls, some to save their property. The note of the reaction was that of authority. The older Anglicanism had professed to rest on the uncertain foundation of the Fathers; Evangelicalism on St Paul; Tractarianism went behind all these, and appealed to Catholic Tradition as a whole. The direction in which this appeal looked was unmistakeable: in the last resort a religion of authority means one thing—Rome.

The dialectic of the Movement was relentless. It pressed upon its opponents the real or supposed content of their premises: the principle of authority, it urged, necessitated

the hierarchy: the Bible required a living and infallible interpreter; the Incarnation led up to the priesthood and the *ex opere operato* sacraments; the Church to the Episcopate—the more consistent added the Papacy: there was no halting place; the slope was slippery, and the goal sure. But the argument was of the nature of a *reductio ad absurdum.* When pressed by it, reasonable men revised their premises; they neither could nor would accept the follies to which they led. Arnold, whose great and rare merit was that he always spoke his mind, described Ecclesiastical Tradition as "an unsightly idol."[1] "Believe in the Pope? I had as soon believe in Jupiter!" And, indeed, if the word "belief" is used seriously, the two may seem equally impossible. Progress is a fact; reaction an illusion. It was only on the dial of Ahaz that the shadow went back.

Unlike its immediate predecessors, the critical school of to-day is a direct outcome of the modern mind-movement; and, since this is so, it may be trusted to criticize itself. For thought is essentially interrogation; it tests and revises its own work. Such dangers as it presents lie in another direction than the critical. Their cause is this—that, to those who are unprepared for it, novelty in religion, or in subject matter which they associate with religion, is often error "from the refraction

[1] "Life," p. 442.

with which it enters into their conceptions";[1] and the unsettlement of these conceptions may have disastrous effects on spiritual life. The risk is not one which can be neglected. *Tu insidiaberis calcaneo ejus.*[2] The serpent of aridity lies in wait for the heel of the critic, who should remember that there were Figures which Fra Angelico painted upon his knees. Reactions flourish not on their own merits, which are inconsiderable, but on the shortcomings of their opponents, which are often great. And the strife of tongues, take what shape it will, is unfavourable to religion; piety is a tender plant and loves the shade.

As a great cathedral exhibits examples of many schools and periods of architecture, so the English Church bears on her the mark of these various movements, in particular and in general. She is other than she would have been without them: they have entered into her standards, guided her worship, and formed her distinctive point of view. In a book of exceptional distinction, "John Inglesant," the writer, himself a Nonconformist, puts into the mouth of his hero an appreciation of the English Church which her detractors—who are often of her own household—would do well to take to heart.

[1] "The Via Media." J. H. Newman. Ed. 1877. Preface.
[2] "Thou shalt lie in wait for his heel." Gen. iii. 15. Vulgate.

"I have perhaps occupied a position which enables me to judge somewhat advantageously between the Churches,"

—the speaker had been a Roman Catholic—

"and my earnest advice is this. You will do wrong—mankind will do wrong—if it allows to drop out of existence, merely because the position on which it stands seems to be illogical, an agency by which the devotional instincts of human nature are enabled to exist side by side with the rational. The English Church, as established by the law of England, offers the supernatural to all who care to come. It is like the Divine Being Himself, whose sun shines on the evil and on the good. Upon the altars of the Church the Divine Presence hovers as surely, to those who believe it, as it does upon the splendid altars of Rome. Thanks to circumstances which the founders of our Church did not contemplate, the way is open; it is barred by no confession, no human priest. Shall we throw this aside? It has been won for us by the death and torture of men like ourselves in bodily frame, infinitely superior to some of us in self-denial and endurance. If we cannot endure as they did, at least do not let us needlessly throw away what they have won. It is not even a question of religious freedom only; it is a question of learning and culture in every form. I am not blind to the peculiar dangers that beset the English Church. I fear that its position, standing, as it does, a mean

between two extremes, will engender indifference and sloth; and that its freedom will prevent its preserving a discipline and organizing power, without which any community will suffer grievous damage. Nevertheless, as a Church, it is unique: if suffered to drop out of existence, nothing like it can ever take its place."[1]

This is what may be called the Romance of the Church of England: it is a romance which is at once romantic and real. Movements are ephemeral, and logic is fallacious; the springs of life lie deeper than they. Such a Church, such a conception of religion, calls for no apology. And, though perhaps it requires the modest grace of a George Herbert to do so without assumption, the English Christian may echo the delicate and characteristic lines in which he recounts the excellencies of that "British Church," which his verse pictured and his virtues adorned.

"But, dearest mother, (what those misse)
The mean thy praise and glory is,
And long may be.
Blessed be God, whose love it was
To double-moat thee with His grace,
And none but thee."

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[1] "John Inglesant," ii. p. 383.

III

THE REFORMATION SETTLEMENT

"It evoked less active resistance than any other great religious change, and was accompanied by less persecution."
—PROFESSOR A. F. POLLARD.

THE merits of the Panther are rated higher in Dryden's famous poem than they would be by a modern Roman Catholic.

> "Oh, could her inborn stains be washed away,
> She were too good to be a beast of prey!"

And she is described as

> "Nice in her choice of ill, though not of best;
> And least deformed, because reformed the least."

The latter statement is one of fact; though the fact has often been overlooked, because it was in the interests of controversialists to overlook it. The Church of England is a Reformed Church; but her formularies were deliberately framed so as to include that large part of the nation which, when they were compiled, was not Protestant either in sympathy or by conviction. This comprehension was an

essential feature of the Elizabethan religious settlement, and a condition of its survival: it is also a sufficient reason for the recognition, though not for the preponderance of the Anglo-Catholicism of our own day. The statesmen who designed the Anglican compromise counted, rightly, on the gradual absorption of the backward, or Catholic, element in the nation by the progressive; and certainly did not foresee its revival after a lapse of 300 years. But considerations of the same order as those which dictated its retention in the sixteenth century suggest a similar policy in our own. It was a matter, however, of policy, not of principle. And it is one of the ironies of history that all that distinguishes the English Church from Continental Protestantism—the episcopate, the liturgy, the ritual and sacramental praxis—is due to other than religious causes, and to lay statesmen, not to theologians or divines.

The English mind starts with the concrete, and passes to thought through things. The mediaeval mind did the reverse: mediaeval religion, in particular, was before all things the expression of ideas. Noble in themselves, these had broken down in practice: symbolism had degenerated into magic, asceticism into the false conscience of the cloister, Catholic internationalism into the Papal tyranny. The world was imprisoned; life, national and individual, was lived in chains. It was the

characteristic merit of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, the most distinctively English of our sovereigns, to see this, and to put themselves at the head of the inevitable movement of emancipation—a movement which was, and could not but be, a revolution, though, thanks to their vigour and sagacity, it was a revolution brought about not by violence, but by process of law. Elizabeth, though not a Catholic, was a lukewarm Protestant; Henry was not a Protestant at all. Elizabeth has left a deservedly great name; but to Henry history has done less than justice. There have been European kings of our own time who have been worse men; and with the rulers of his own generation he compares from every point of view favourably. His policy enabled this country to escape the cyclone of religious strife which shook Europe; every drop of blood shed under him would have been a river under a weaker king. Many brave ships went down in the tempest of the Reformation. England escaped from it secure and strengthened; and Henry was "the Pilot who weathered the storm."

His settlement was a necessity of the time. It could not have gone further without alienating the nation at large; it had to go as far, to satisfy the reforming party, which was influential and increasing: the country was least divided by a policy of moderate reform. Irreconcileables were few. The majority,

even of the anti-Reformers, were willing to dispense with the Pope and to accept the Royal Supremacy: some indeed would have gone further; before the Council of Trent the free use of the Bible, Communion in both kinds, the vernacular liturgy, and even the marriage of the clergy, were open questions. In the Mediaeval Church growth had not yet been arrested: the *Non Possumus* of the modern Papacy was a later development. It was the Mass that was the real issue. For the time had not come when it could be regarded historically. To the Catholic it was the corollary of the Incarnation; to the Protestant it was "idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians." No formula could overcome the contradiction. But, inevitable as the conflict might be in the long run, he was a bad citizen who forced the situation; for the controversy which, if postponed, might have become one of ideas, could scarcely at the time be decided otherwise than by violence. Edward's advisers made religion a pawn in party politics; and so unloosed the reaction which swept over England in the next reign. Henry's death was a public disaster. While he lived the ship of State answered to the helm and pursued a fixed course. Under Edward and Mary the steersman lost control; it rocked, and all but foundered. Somerset was a demagogue born out of due time; Dudley an unprincipled party leader, without a redeeming

vice or a saving virtue. Mary would have been a better ruler had she been a worse woman; her virtues were bitter, and she was a Spanish not an English Queen. Religion was her one passion; and it was a perverted passion: what she took for religion was an evil and a hateful thing. She made Catholicism for ever impossible in England: but she fought desperately for it, and the national peril was extreme. Not till the strong hand of Elizabeth grasped the helm, did the vessel ride the waves unshaken; and with Elizabeth the new order came. The conscience of the country, though there were features of the old religion with which it parted reluctantly, did "not believe in gods in whose name men kill."

It was under Edward VI. that "the first compiling of the Publick Liturgy" of the now Reformed Church took place. The Prayer Book of 1549 was not a permanent solution of the liturgical and ceremonial problems of the time. But it was a wise compromise; and its premature supersession was a folly for which the Reformers paid dear. Between 1550–53 measures were taken which separated the English Church from Mediaeval Catholicism; and for this the country was not prepared. This was the more to be regretted because of the unusual reasonableness of the Church Party of the time. Before Henry's death change was in the air. He was "at this point

to have changed the mass into a communion"; in 1547 the Lower House of Convocation voted unanimously for communion in both kinds, and by a majority of 53 to 22 for the marriage of the clergy.[1] In 1549, 12 out of 20 bishops voted for the Act of Uniformity, of which the first Prayer Book was a schedule; Gardiner, while he would not, he said, have "made the book," promising obedience. He had already concurred in the abolition of chantries; the traffic in Masses was felt to be indefensible. But these fair prospects were soon overclouded; ten chequered years of anarchy and bloodshed lay between the country and peace.

The second stage of the Reformation, which opened in the autumn of 1549, differed widely from the first. What this had done was to break away from the Papacy—an institution politico-ecclesiastical rather than religious in character, and, in the Cisalpine countries at least, greatly discredited—and to dispense with certain practices of popular devotion, some harmless, some open to abuse, none essential. The Mass was left an open question. The language of the First Prayer Book was purposely ambiguous. It looked towards the Reformed side of the controversy; but it did not compel people to see that it did so. It was not meant to deceive them; but it was meant to make it easy for them to interpret it in their own way. The Sacrifice was

[1] "Political History of England," vol. vi. p. 16, 17.

neither asserted nor denied; the office could be used by those who accepted and by those who denied Transubstantiation; much of the old ceremonial could still be practised, and the name Mass—an important concession—remained.

> "By retaining the old vestments, repeating the old manual acts, and mumbling the words of the service which harmonized ill with the old symbolism, catholic celebrants could convey the impression that the old mass remained, in spite of the act of uniformity."[1]

The words might refer to a usage not unknown to-day. The Second Book (1552) curtailed the ceremonial and transformed the office. It repudiated both the Sacrifice and the Objective Presence; the compilers desired to fall back from mediaevalism upon an earlier stage in the development of Christian institutions and ideas. It is argued, justly, that these changes, great as they were, did not destroy the continuity of English religion, because the mediaevalism which they superseded was itself a stage in a process. An illustration of this is afforded by the Roman Canon of the Mass. This does not presuppose Transubstantiation: on the contrary, "it is so far from teaching that dogma that it positively witnesses against it, and can only be reconciled with it by the

[1] "Political History of England." Professor A. F. Pollard, vol. vi. p. 53.

most violent artifices of interpretation."[1] The reason is that the Canon dates from a period prior to the development of the doctrine; and, as it had become too sacred to be changed, the two were left side by side unreconciled. But the revision of 1552, if it did not affect her connection with a remoter past, effectually cut off the Church of England from Mediaeval Catholicism. A mediaeval Churchman could have assented, if not very willingly, to the Book of 1549; he could scarcely have done so to that of 1552. And the Elizabethan Book was that of 1552, though three changes which affected its form rather than its substance, were introduced.

A comparison between the two Ordinals is instructive. In 1549 the tonsure, the Minor Orders, and the Subdiaconate disappeared; and the unction and the commission of the power to offer sacrifice were omitted in the ordination of priests. In 1552 the *porrectio instrumentorum*—the delivery of "the Chalice, or cup, with the bread" to the ordained—was discontinued; it was desired to show unmistakably that the English clergy were presbyters, not sacrificing priests. The retention of the term "Priest" seems to have caused little scruple or notice; the sense in which it was used was too clearly determined by its context to be misunderstood. The modern Roman Catholic argument against

[1] Bishop Thirlwall. Charge of 1866. Remains ii. 163.

Anglican Orders is based partly on these omissions, partly on the alleged defect of "intention" which they show. But what is called "intention" does not depend on the orthodoxy of the minister of the sacrament. This is immaterial; what is required is that he shall intend to do what the Church—not necessarily the Catholic or Roman Church—does, "whatever his notion about the Church, the sacrament, its effect and object may be."[1] Further, the formulae and ceremonial omitted are not older than the ninth century; if they are essential to Orders, the Church can have had no Orders for 800 years. The officials who drafted the Bull *Apostolicae Curae* (1896) seem to have felt this difficulty. For their "theological argument is very nebulous,"[2] says an expert. It oscillates: when met on the ground of form, it passes to that of intention; and when pressed on the ground of intention, it retreats to that of form. The defendant appears to have made his contention good on one ground. But shall this profit him?

> "Vain man! what simplicity in you to think so! If you have not broken one commandment, let us see whether we cannot convict you of the breach of another. If you are not a swindler or forger, you are guilty of arson or burglary. By hook or by crook

[1] "Catholic Dictionary." Addis and Arnold, ed. 1884, p. 738.

[2] "A Roman Diary." T. A. Lacey, p. 258.

you shall not escape. Are *you* to suffer, or *I*?"[1]

Further changes in the same direction followed. The pastoral staff was no longer delivered to the bishop at his consecration; but the power of ordaining was reserved to him: the anointing of the sick and the newly baptized, and the sign of the cross, except at baptism, were dropped. In the Communion Service the Epiklesis—or prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost on the elements—was omitted, and the old words of administration replaced by the latter clause of our present form. Prayer for the dead was discontinued: on the other hand, in the Visitation of the Sick a late mediaeval form of absolution was left standing; and, in spite of Knox's protest, the attitude of kneeling for communion—though the so-called "Black" Rubric guarded it against misconception—was retained. The simpler clerical habits—the surplice and rochet—were enjoined. The extreme Protestants were scandalized by the use of these garments: it was only by imprisonment that Hooper's scruples were overcome.

The 42 Articles of Religion, reduced in 1563 to 39, were a necessity of the age. Compared with the standards of other Churches, Reformed or unreformed, they are, and were

[1] "Apologia pro Vita Sua." J. H. Newman, ed. 1913, vol. i. p. 7.

meant to be, moderate. But they laboured under the disadvantage of being new, and framed *ad hoc*. The liberty of interpretation, which is a condition of creed subscription, is more readily given and taken in the case of an old formula: creeds are not made, they grow. The principal differences between the earlier and the later editions were (1) that, in 1553, what is now (Article XXII.) "the Romish doctrine," was "the doctrine of School Authors"—the distinction, an important one, being that between Positive, or Patristic, and Scholastic Theology: and (2) that, in Article XXVI., it was declared that "in such only as worthily receive the same, the Sacraments have a wholesome effect and operation; and yet not that of the work wrought (*ex opere operato*) as some men speak. Which word, as it is strange and unknown to Holy Scripture, so it engendereth no godly, but a very superstitious sense." It is, perhaps, possible to interpret the Scotist theory of the moral, as opposed to the Thomist of the physical, operation of the Sacraments on these lines.[1]

On the question of subscription it would be difficult to improve upon Paley's argument; though this argument will not satisfy those who desire to use the formularies in question as a barrier against the application of critical and scientific methods to theology.

[1] Billuart, "De Sacramentis in Communi," iii. 2.

Writing of the Articles, under which, it should be remembered, the Creeds fall (Article VIII.), "the legislature of the 13th Eliz. (1571) is," he says, "the imposer;" and the intention was

"to exclude from offices in the Church,

(1) All abettors of Popery.

(2) Anabaptists, who were at that time a powerful party on the Continent.

(3) The Puritans; who were hostile to an episcopal constitution: and in general the members of such leading sects or foreign establishments as threatened to overthrow our own."

It is only by a palpable anachronism that the Articles can be taken to apply to later controversies: those who do not fall under one or other of these three classes are entitled to subscribe. To question their right to do so is a proceeding to be "reprobated under the general description of *applying a rule of law to a purpose for which it is not intended*"—the italics are Paley's; a perversion of justice repugnant to the non-theological mind.[1]

At Elizabeth's accession, only the Queen's life stood between the country and a repetition of the atrocities of her predecessor's reign. The next heir to the Crown was a Roman Catholic, Scottish by birth and French

[1] "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy." Ed. 1825, pp. 144, 186.

by training: in the background stood the murderous figure of Philip II.; and the fear of Spanish aggression was in the sixteenth century what that of Prussian is to-day. This imminent and double peril is the key to her tentative policy. The country lived from hand to mouth, and on the extreme margin of security; the path skirted an abyss on either side. And the Elizabethan settlement of religion, like the Revolution settlement of the succession (1688), which in many respects it resembled, was precarious for more than a generation; in each case men had to face the possibility of a change. The great majority of the English people were neither convinced Catholics nor convinced Protestants; but both, or neither, or something between the two. Among the better sort the Queen's attitude, which was that of a statesman, not of a pietist, was general: "Gentlemen," says Selden, "have ever been more temperate in their religion than the common people, as having more reason—the others running in a hurry."[1] The country had been carried further and faster in the Protestant direction than she wished or intended, by the association of ideas, which was not at first obvious, and by the course of events, which could not be foreseen. And her anti-Puritan policy was matter of cold, hard calculation. Theological considerations did not enter into it:

[1] "Table Talk," xlviii.

to suppose her capable of basing the conduct of public affairs on motives of this order is to misread both her and the age. The fact was that the Reformation had gone to the outside limit of safety. Political reasons had made this inevitable: but a little, a very little, more and popular feeling would have been estranged. Elizabeth, who had an unerring eye for what was and what was not possible, was better aware of this than her advisers. Had she broken with the old order, as the Puritans wished, she might have conciliated a handful of fanatics, but the unity of the country would have been rent in twain. The policy imposed upon her by the existing balance of parties has had lasting consequences, and has left as its legacy controversies which divide the Church to this day.

It was the Puritans who were the first to make the form of Church Government a matter of principle. The contention of Cartwright and Travers was not that episcopacy was indifferent, but that it was unlawful; not that the Genevan "Discipline" was preferable, but that it was binding under sin. That of Hooker was not that episcopacy was of the *esse* of the Church, but that it was of its *bene esse;* and that, where it was by law established, the citizens could and ought to conform. "For the ecclesiastical laws of this realm, we are led by much reason to

observe them, and ye by no necessity to impugn them;"[1] the controversy was contained in these famous words.

A distinguished American historian connects the "Reconstruction of the English Church," which "was the final step in the transformation of the pre-Reformation Church into the present Establishment"[2] with the name of Richard Bancroft (Bishop of London, 1597–1604, and Archbishop of Canterbury, 1604–1610), whom he describes as "the ablest and most influential Churchman of his generation, and one of the most capable administrators the Church of England has ever known." The system which he designed was, indeed, a compromise—most English institutions are. But it lasted till the Victorian period, disappearing with Archbishop Tait, a man of equal distinction and not dissimilar temper. When Tait died, a new era opened. Comprehension is still an aspiration. Uniformity is a vanishing, perhaps a vanished, quantity, and will not return.

On the strength of his famous sermon at Paul's Cross (1588-9)—a sermon more quoted than read—Bancroft has been credited with the later nonjuring theory of episcopacy. This is bad history and bad psychology. His complaint against the Puritans was not that they

[1] "Ecclesiastical Polity." Preface, vii.

[2] "The Reconstruction of the English Church." Roland G. Usher, i. 2, 22.

were uncatholic, but that they "walked disorderly." It was the Pauline "decently and in order" that condemned them. The Elizabethan English were not democratic; and it was not then necessary for a public man to profess to be so. "God save us," said Parker, "from such a visitation as Knox hath attempted in Scotland! the people to be the orderers of things." And so far was Bancroft from the later view that as Archbishop (1610), under James I., he opposed the proposal to reordain the Scottish ministers who came to England to be "bishopped." For him the question was one of politics, not of theology. "The ordination given by presbyters must be esteemed valid," he argued; "otherwise it might be doubtful if there was any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches." Such a conclusion was then felt to be absurd and impossible; and he had the good sense even to consecrate the ministers in private, thus minimizing the irritation caused in Scotland by their submission to the English rite.

Few men have so well represented the strength and the weakness of English religion. He was not a saint: perhaps saints have not made the best bishops; and the best bishops have not been saints. Saints have, as a rule, left behind them a legacy of questions to which those who were not saints have been put to it to find an answer, and have seldom found one on purely religious grounds or by purely

religious means. And at critical periods the quiet virtues, which we who live—or have lived till lately—in quiet times associate perhaps too exclusively with religion, fall into the background. There is not time to cultivate them; the rough work of the world, the cutting and carving of its raw material into shape, is done by rough instruments; not by pietists, but by elemental men. No idealizing will transform Bancroft into any clerical type with which we are familiar; we cannot "place" him in the world of modern religious party. A man of action, he concerned himself neither with names nor notions, but with concrete interests and tangible things. His work was taken over by men of narrower outlook and less moderate temper. He had learned to "be supple in things immaterial"; had he stood in Laud's place at Charles's elbow, the royal blood would not have stained the scaffold at Whitehall. He left a tradition at Lambeth which is not extinct, and whose extinction would be a misfortune: to this day it is the voice of Bancroft that speaks from St. Augustine's Chair. Hence the ill-disguised irritation of enthusiasts; the dissatisfaction of men of curious and speculative temper; and the general assent of that average, if neither very enlightened, very spiritually minded, nor very interesting, opinion which is the strength of Churches, and on which, in the last resort, society, religious as well as civil, as we know it, rests.

IV

CHURCH AND STATE

"There is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth; nor any man a member of the commonwealth, which is not also of the Church of England."—HOOKER.

HISTORICALLY one of the most distinctive doctrines of the Church of England is that of the Royal Supremacy; the Sovereign is "in all causes and over all persons, whether ecclesiastical or civil, within these his dominions supreme." This doctrine is not to be confused with the seventeenth-century figment of the Divine Right of Kings; nor was it originally opposed to the theory now known as Voluntaryism. To suppose this would be an anachronism; this theory belongs to a later age. In the sixteenth century the Royal Supremacy was the alternative to the Papal. This rested in the last resort on Spain; and, if the double tyranny was to be escaped, it was necessary to vest the religious control of the nation, then inseparable from the civil, in a concrete power which should express the national will,

and be able to hold its own against all comers. This power was to hand in the Crown. And what the Royal Supremacy meant was that, in the reconstruction of religion which the Reformation brought about, the nation fell back upon the corporate conscience embodied in the sovereign as the final court of appeal in spiritual as in secular affairs. Few positions have been more misrepresented by sectaries, Catholic and Protestant. But few have been more justified by experience. It has worked well; it is reasonable; and it is the only possible basis for a National Church.

The Supremacy of the Crown is in effect that of the Law. And

> "If we regard the Sovereign as the representative of the State, the declaration that he is supreme over all persons and causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, may be justly spoken of as one of the corner stones of the liberties of England. It meant that there should be no escape from submission to the law of the land; and that justice alone and not privilege was to rule the relations which existed between the clergy and the people."[1]

It made not only the supremacy, but the field, of law universal. The modern conception of religion as a purely personal matter was foreign to the sixteenth century. It was then a matter of citizenship. "No man is a member

[1] "History of England." S. R. Gardiner, i. 27.

of the commonwealth, which is not also of the Church of England." [1] And the tradition lasted long. In 1792 Burke wrote—

> "An alliance between Church and State in a Christian commonwealth is an idle and a fanciful opinion. An alliance is between two things that are in their natures distinct and independent, such as between two sovereign states. But in a Christian commonwealth the Church and the State are one and the same thing, being different integral parts of the same whole. For the Church has always been divided into two parts, the clergy and the laity; of which the laity is as much an essential integral part as the clerical member; and in the rule, order, and government of the Church has its share." [2]

This, though the perspective is not quite Hooker's, is sound sixteenth-century doctrine. It had come down from an earlier period when Christianity was, both in law and in fact, part and parcel not only of the commonwealth, but of civilization; and when a man could no more go outside it than he could go outside his country or his kind. This explains the ease with which the sixteenth-century English accepted the various stages of the Reformation; the national religion, they thought, was the nation's affair. The position, though open to

[1] Hooker, "Ecclesiastical Polity," viii. 1.
[2] "On the Petition of the Unitarians."

misconstruction, is less so than Cavour's unfortunate "Free Church in a Free State" theory, or than the individualism of our own time. The less the ruler has to do with denominations, indeed, the better. But religion is not a denomination: and it is

> "so far from being out of the province of a Christian magistrate, that it is, and it ought to be, not only his care, but the principal thing in his care. The magistrate, who is a man, and charged with the concerns of men, and to whom very specially nothing human is remote or indifferent, has a right and a duty to watch over it with an unceasing vigilance; to protect, to promote, to forward it by every rational, just and prudent means. It is principally his duty to prevent the abuses which grow out of every strong and efficient principle that actuates the human mind. As religion is one of the bonds of society, he ought not to suffer it to be made the pretext of destroying its peace, order, liberty and security. Above all, he ought strictly to look to it when men begin to form new combinations, to be distinguished by new names, and especially when they mingle a political system with their religious opinions, true or false, plausible or implausible."[1]

Had English statesmen of the past generation, and of our own, acted on these principles,

[1] Burke, *ibidem.*

English religion would be in a more flourishing condition than it is to-day.

The Act of Supremacy of 1534 partly restored, partly transferred to the Crown the jurisdiction which, by a gradual process of law and custom, had come to be vested in and exercised by the Pope. This jurisdiction was large and indefinite. Henry did not, indeed, lay claim to power of Order; and, though Cranmer held, for a time, that his appointment could confer this power, later, under Zwinglian ideas, he withdrew from this position. The foreign influences in the English Reformation at the formative stage were fortunately rather Zwinglian than either Lutheran or Calvinist; and of all the Reformers Zwingli, had he lived to-day, would have least to retract. But the King claimed the power of deciding the rite according to which the sacraments should be administered, and of prescribing what doctrine should, or should not, be preached. He was also, he held, entitled to reform the canon law, to control ecclesiastical legislation, and to exercise disciplinary and corrective jurisdiction over the Church. The Act of Elizabeth (1559) dropped the title of Supreme Head, substituting that of "only Supreme Governor," but re-enacted the substance of the former statute. It appealed to history, being intituled "An Act *restoring* to the Crown the *ancient* jurisdiction over the State, ecclesiastical and spiritual, and

abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same," *i.e.* that of the Pope.

Her successors were lesser men, who inherited neither her temper nor her outlook. The seventeenth century was the century of absolutism. Under the half-French Stuarts government both in Church and State was perverted into an instrument of personal rule. To this we owe the animosity between the Church and Dissent, and the injury to religion to which this animosity has given, and still gives, rise. In 1688 the more wholesome and more English policy was revived. It took shape in the historical Whig tradition, which, with all its limitations, made modern England; and which, though temporarily obscured by the Romanticist and other reactions, is once more coming to its own. The recent rehabilitation of Froude is significant.

> "There is inadequate justification for the systematic detraction of Froude's 'History' which has become the fashion. He held strong views, and he made some mistakes; but his mistakes were no greater than those of other historians, and there are not half a dozen histories in the English language which have been based on so exhaustive a survey of original materials."[1]

The association of the Royal Supremacy with the various Acts of Uniformity is accidental;

[1] "Thomas Cranmer," by Professor A. F. Pollard, Pref. viii.

and it is a mistake to suppose that it bears exclusively on the Established Church. The famous case of the Free Church of Scotland, which came before the Scottish courts 1901–2, and before the House of Lords, 1904, is proof to the contrary. All citizens, Churchmen and Dissenters alike, are equally subject to the law, which interprets and enforces the contract under which the Roman Catholic priest and the Nonconformist minister discharge their functions no less than it does the Acts of Parliament which regulate the status and prescribe the duties of the clergy of the National Church. The "God or Caesar" alternative is irrelevant: the courts neither force conscience, nor define doctrine; they interpret law. To the argument that in fact legal interpretations of religious formularies have at times an effect resembling that of doctrinal definitions, the answer is that every property-holding body *ipso facto* resigns a measure of liberty—this is inseparable from any social system—and that the Church is no exception to the rule. It is, no doubt, conceivable that circumstances should arise in which disobedience to the law would be a duty. But such circumstances are rare, and increasingly rare. And the reason why sensible people are predisposed to take the side of the law against those who come into conflict with it on the pretext of religion, is not so much that these conscientious objectors

violate the law—here every case must be decided on its own merits—as that, with few, very few, exceptions, the law is right and they are wrong. The policy of the modern State is one of non-intervention. The courts are slow to intervene in the domestic affairs of corporations; and in this country there is a disposition to pay what may seem an excessive deference to the plea of conscience, whether it is put forward by a clergyman who acts on his own interpretation of the rubric, or by an anti-vaccinator who refuses to insure against small-pox, or by a pacifist who will not "at the commandment of the Magistrate, wear weapons and serve in the wars." It is forgotten that, however respectable their motives, the first endangers the peace of a parish, the second the health of a neighbourhood, the third the defence of those liberties which he enjoys at the expense of others. A false is to be distinguished from a true conscience; and the more the duty of following conscience is insisted upon, the more important it becomes that the conscience followed shall be rightly informed.

If this position be thought Erastian, we are thrown back upon the question, What is the Church? It is a historical rather than a theological question: nowhere have theologians built up so enormous a superstructure on so slender a foundation as here. The Church is commonly contrasted with the State. But

neither the word nor the conception implies this contrast. In the New Testament the Church stands for the aggregate of believers, local or general. In the first case it is opposed to other local Churches; in the second to "them that are without"—Jews and Pagans. In each case it denotes not a section of the Christian community—the office bearers, or those who acted in their interest—but the Christian community as a whole.

It was not till the belief in the *Parousia* had broken down that the organization of the community became a problem. The drift of the time was towards concentration; by the end of the second century the Christian communities had federated, and developed a fixed polity and creed. Anglican writers lay stress on the federal conception. But it was short-lived: as the monarchical episcopate established itself, the increasing influence of one predominant bishop led the lesser Churches to take up an attitude which became more and more one of dependence on and subordination to the central Roman see. It is impossible to overlook the connection, both in idea and fact, between the episcopate, as conceived by writers of the school of Cyprian, and the Papacy. The arguments for the bishop are arguments for the Pope also; and, historically, the episcopate prepared the soil from which the Papacy sprung. The conversion of the Empire marked the decisive step in the

process, and fixed the lines on which it was to proceed. It identified civil and religious society. The result was Christendom; Christianity and civilization ran in one channel and formed one stream. The fullest expression of this idea, great even in its decay, is found in the Middle Ages. Even then it was rather an aspiration than an achievement. The obstinate Dualism inherent both in thought and in things was insuperable; the "two swords" remained two. Hence the persistent strife between Pope and Emperor; hence the unbridged gulf between ideal values and the actual world. An equation, it seems, must be established between them. But the Mediaeval Church knew nothing of half courses; and its determination to make its ideal values concrete exhibited the contrast in an extreme form. It materialized of set purpose; it sought to give ideas strength by plunging them deeper and deeper into matter—by incorporating them in a polity, in institutions, in creeds. The Church became the clergy; the clergy the hierarchy; the hierarchy the Papacy: the Many were effectually reduced to the One. But at what a price! The vital processes were arrested; religion was divorced from fact, and taken out of the human movement. The method led nowhere. The result was a mountainous mass of unveracities, which nothing short of the earthquake of the Reformation could dislodge. It came: the

foundations of the earth were shaken; and, when the storm passed, the Mediaeval Church had disappeared.

Two results followed. The international idea was replaced by the national, which, if less spacious, was more attainable; and religion was conceived not as a "stagnant vivary," but as part and parcel of the world's growing life. It did not follow that individuals were free to go their own way in it. The English of the time were not individualists; they recognized the need of authority; what they insisted upon was that the authority should be competent, disinterested, and of such a character as to command the respect of honest men. Such an authority they found in the collective conscience of the nation, embodied in the Sovereign as the representative of the community at large. The community—not in the sense of counting heads; this would be an appeal to ignorance—but as a body politic, is wiser than any particular section of the community; it is less influenced by consideration of class or party interest; it is more open to ideas. No greater misfortune could befall religion than to be identified with any sectional interest, political or sectarian; the Church, if she is to retain her hold on the community, must be nothing less than the community on the religious side. The same men and women who constitute the one constitute the other also; the accent

differs, the content is the same. If we ask, then, "What is the Church Universal, or Catholic?" the answer is not the members of any one communion, Roman, Orthodox, or Reformed, but all Christians. "What is the Church of England?" Not the clergy, or communicants, or those who would describe themselves as Churchmen, but all Christian Englishmen. It has been argued, as we have seen,[1] that while this view could be taken in the seventeenth century, when the nation and the Church were co-extensive in law, a new situation has been created by the removal of religious disabilities. The objection deals with names, not things. If the Protestantism of the country is not affected by the repeal of the penal laws against Roman Catholics, its Christianity is even less so by the admission of a handful of Jews and secularists to citizenship. The greater absorbs the less. As a fact, since the removal of these disabilities, Parliament has given us legislation in advance of the public opinion of the Churches; philanthropy—which, after all, has something to do with religion—has reached a higher level without than within their fold. While, theologically, in spite of subscription, there are greater divergences of opinion between Churchmen and Churchmen than between Churchmen and Christians of other

[1] P. 15.

communions: the sect argument breaks down even on its own ground.

The prejudice against what is loosely called Erastianism is based on an opinion that it is unlawful for secular persons to meddle with ecclesiastical affairs. The fate of Uzzah, it is thought, is a warning: "God smote Uzzah for his error, and he died." But this primitive notion of *tabu* is foreign to the New Testament. The ministry of the Apostolic Church was charismatic, not official, and those who exercised it were ministers, or servants, of the community as a whole. We cannot speak of clergy or laity in the modern sense of the terms in this connection; the distinction was of later date. But

> "in whatever way the control of ecclesiastical affairs by the laity, or rather by the whole community, is exercised, there can be no question that it is in them that, by the New Testament and by the first ages of Christendom, the supremacy over the clergy was vested. They elected their chief ministers, probably their inferior ministers also. They moulded their own creed, they administered their own discipline, they were the Ecclesia, the Assembly, 'the Church.'"[1]

This popular voice survives in the challenge addressed to objectors in our Ordination

[1] "Essays on Church and State." A. P. Stanley, p. 349. Bingham, "Antiquities," vol. i. pp. 435, 436.

Service; and in the *congé d'élire*, to which an English bishop owes his see. The Crown, while empowering the chapter to proceed to an election, designates the person whom they are to elect. The criticism directed against this procedure is stronger in sound than in sense. The Crown, whether, as here, acting under the advice of its responsible ministers, or through Parliament, or the courts of law, is a truer exponent of the national mind—*i.e.* of the real mind of the Church—than either a Synod, or a direct popular vote. The former would represent a denomination—under present circumstances a section of a denomination—not the community; while popular suffrage, which in a small primitive society, pervaded by Christian piety, tended to harmony, would become a source of division under the conditions of modern English life. The Royal Supremacy limits autonomy only when, as in our own time, autonomy means the preponderance of a party. Were this preponderance unchecked, it would bring about the establishment of a sect—an obvious injustice to the sects that were not established. A Church rests on a broader basis. It is established not because it teaches a particular theology, or possesses a particular succession, but because it represents the best mind and conscience of the community—the working, in philosophical language, of Reason, in religious language, of the Spirit, in the world and

among men. If it ceases to do this—if it reflects a sectional mind and a denominational conscience—the sufficient reason for its establishment is gone; while the supposed superiority of spiritual over secular courts is founded on a series of misconceptions, historical and theological. "I avoid every assembly of bishops," says St. Gregory Nazianzen, who had had much experience of them; "for I have never seen one which led to any good result, and did not rather aggravate evils than remove them."[1]

Among Nonconformists the Disestablishment movement is, it seems, at present in abeyance. But it would be unsafe to count on this abeyance being more than temporary. The Voluntaryist fallacy is plausible. Let those who want the apparatus of religion provide it for themselves in their own generation, it is urged: the permanent endowment of religion is morally and economically mischievous. And institutional religion is on the decline. The churchgoing section of the population is a minority, and a decreasing minority; and, large as the resources of the Established Church are, the results obtained are not conspicuously greater than those found in the unendowed Churches. The question suggests itself, To what purpose is this waste? While the indifference, either of the nation or of the Nonconformists, to the

[1] Epist. 55 ad Procopium.

acute denominationalizing of the Church now in process is due to causes which are not likely to be lasting. It is desirable, and some of us may think it still possible, that the English Church should take her natural place as *prima inter pares* in an informal federation of the English-speaking Reformed Churches. But this would involve her frank acceptance of the national as opposed to the denominational standpoint. There are few signs of this; and, failing it, while Anglicanism might survive as a denomination, it can scarcely be doubted that the Church of England, as we have known it, would disappear. Religion would be the poorer; a time-honoured home of "true religion and sound learning" — values not lightly to be dissociated—would have passed away. Neither rational religion nor the better elements of Dissent stand to gain by this. Were Disestablishment brought about under present circumstances, it would be attended by two notable results: (1) the strengthening of the Romanizing tendencies among Anglicans, and so, indirectly, of the Roman Catholic Church; and (2) the spiritual destitution of country districts, which would be left without adequate provision for their religious needs. Whether our rural population could, or could not, supply these needs for itself, it is certain that it would not do so, and that it would be deprived of a humanizing and civilizing influence were they not supplied. In

every community a large proportion of the citizens are intellectually and morally minors. The State stands to them *in loco parentis;* and performs only half its duty if it overlooks the ideal side of their lives. This is one of the many reasons why the distinction between Church and State is fallacious; the two are one. The present danger is twofold: the first, and greatest, being the apathy of the community; the second, the chance that the position may be rushed in some sudden panic or passion. This over, we may awake to find that we have "loosely, through silence, permitted things to pass away as in a dream."[1]

The connection between the English Church and the English Monarchy is close and of long standing. It is probable that the time has gone by for setting up Churches or Monarchies: such institutions are not made; they grow. But it is another thing to destroy existing values.

> "Injurioso ne pede proruas
> Stantem columnam."

Both stand outside sect and party; both represent the nation as a whole. Only so can they hold their ground. The civil constitution of this country is above and beyond question. The religious should be. Its promise is more than its performance; it is a nucleus in which the seeds of future growth are contained. "The Church," says Warburton, "like the

[1] Hooker, "Eccl. Polity," Preface.

ark of Noah, is worth saving; not for the sake of the unclean beasts and vermin that almost filled it, and probably made most noise and clamour in it; but for the little corner of rationality, that was as much distressed by the stench within as by the tempest without."

V

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL

"It is no longer, as it has been in times past, Protestantism which is the antagonist of the Catholic Church. Its true rival and competitor is the whole of that fabric of science—moral, political, physical—which has been slowly built up by the labours of four centuries, and the results of which tend more and more strongently to govern the conduct both of individuals and of communities."—PATTISON.

WHAT is known in England as the Catholic Revival is part of a larger whole. Its mediaeval side is European, and connects with the Romantic movement; its religious, while it received a new form from Tractarianism, came in substance from Wesley and the Evangelicals; there was a vein of Puritanism in the original Oxford school.[1] Eighteenth century religion was "at ease in Zion." Wesley roused it from its slumbers; and before his death the Revolution had made reason a word of ill-omen and liberty one of fear. In England, in particular, men refused to govern

[1] Cp. "History of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century." A. W. Benn, vol. i. ch. viii.

themselves by "abstractions and universals"; to do so was, in Burke's famous phrase, to be "metaphysically mad."[1] It has been claimed for Methodism that it stood between the English people and what were then called "French principles." A share in whatever credit attaches to this interposition must be allowed to Evangelicalism: it was not here, but among the older sects, the Presbyterians and Independents, that the passion for freedom and enlightenment was found. The new pietism was frankly obscurantist. It despised learning, and appealed to feeling, not to thought. This is why not all its piety and philanthropy could save it. For it is impossible to suppress reason, though it is possible to shorten its arm and narrow its field. And reason, though working under these limitations, carried Evangelicalism "whither it would not." An infallible Book required an infallible Interpreter; and this interpreter must be living and accessible, it was argued; a Judge from whose decision there could be no appeal. On the Continent this abstract reasoning took a political shape, and led to the Ultramontanizing of the Church—Lamennais is the father of Modern Catholicism;[2] in England it remained on theological ground, and expressed itself in the Oxford Movement,

[1] "On the Unitarian Petition," 1792.

[2] Cf. "Geschichte des Vatikanischen Konzils." J. Friedrich, vol. i. ch. 2.

the conflict between which and its parent Evangelicalism was not a foreign, but a peculiarly bitter domestic war.

Whatever else the Oxford Movement had or had not, it emphatically had charm. It fell like a breath of Romance on an unromantic age, and a sure instinct led the romantic to it. Borrow's attack on Scott[1] was an unwilling testimony to this. Nor was the *vates sacer* wanting; in Newman it possessed a great man of letters, a born artist, a consummate advocate. It had to a marked extent the power of personal piety; there was a more profound conviction of sin, a more "fearful looking for judgment" than are common today. Yet the level of the modern conscience is higher. Fear was the dominant note in Tractarian religion. This led to a false moral standard. Either, as with Pascal and the Jansenists, human nature, as such, was sin; or, as with the Casuists, the conception of right and wrong became external. "In Oxford," Arnold wrote in 1833, "there is an absolute ἐργαστήριον ψευδῶν (= a factory of falsehoods) whose activity is surprising:"[2] those who scrupled at the breaking of a fast, or the curtailment of an office, fell below the level of men of the world in courtesy, charity, temper and truthfulness. These they regarded as "natural" virtues. The result was a certain

[1] "The Romany Rye." Appendix.
[2] "Life," p. 281.

formalism: the impression left was one of punctuality of observance rather than of spirituality or goodness of heart. Its philosophy of life was superficial. Sin was rebellion against God; poverty and sickness were occasions for the practice of such virtues as patience and almsgiving: there was no conception of the extent to which these evils were the outcome of bad social conditions which could, and should, be remedied. No social reformer—Manning's noble passion for reform came to him with the disillusionment of his later years—was drawn to the Oxford Movement, which contrasted ill with the splendid philanthropy of the Clapham pietists; nor did it appeal to those whom the older Evangelicals would have described as "converted" men. The Tractarians were devout; they were in trouble, often in lifelong trouble, about their souls. But the final experience—the "joy and peace in believing"—lay beyond them; they were seekers, but they had not found.

The Movement has bulked so large in controversy that we are apt to forget the restricted scale on which it acted. The rank and file of the nation was untouched by it; the leaders of thought—the great poets, thinkers, historians, and scientists of the Victorian age—passed it by. It influenced a section only even of the religious world; to the English Nonconformist, the Scottish Presbyterian, the

Irish Catholic, it was no more than a name. Its learning was antiquarian. The distinctive note of the unreformed Oxford in which it arose was provincialism; the University stood outside the current of European mind. Even a bowing acquaintance with the language and literature of the Continent was exceptional; Mansel's "Phrontisterion" showed the level of speculative thinking; the science of Scripture, as distinct from its dogmatic and devotional use, was unknown. Newman's genius, though great, was spasmodic and incidental; the theology to which it lent a glamour was below the level even of the average theology of the age. In a University sermon preached in 1831,[1] "The Usurpations of Reason," he denounced that master faculty as "officious," "captious," "forward," "usurping," "rebellious." The looseness of thought and extravagance of rhetoric which characterized the party is illustrated by the fact that when Newman republished this sermon, as a Roman Catholic, he did so with notes explaining that he had used the word "Reason" in the sense of "Secular Reason, or 'the wisdom of the world.'" His pulpit commentary on the massacre of the Canaanites—men, women, and children—by the Israelite tribesmen under Joshua is memorable:

"Doubtless as they slew those who suffered

[1] "University Sermons," p. 52 (ed. 1880).

for the sins of their fathers, their thoughts turned first to the fall of Adam, and next to that unseen state where all inequalities are righted." [1]

And this in the days of Whately, Arnold, and Milman! A certain innutrition of the rational faculties was a note of the school. His dialectic, acute as it was, confined itself to the analysis of received terms and current conceptions; it took its stand on a tradition taken over without criticism, which it canonized and stereotyped.

"The force of his dialectic, and the beauty of his rhetorical exposition were such that one's eye and ear were charmed, and one never thought of enquiring on how narrow a basis of philosophical culture his great gifts were expended. A. P. Stanley once said to me, 'How different the fortunes of the Church of England might have been if Newman had been able to read German.' That puts the matter in a nutshell; Newman assumed and adorned the narrow basis on which Laud had stood 200 years before. All the grand development of human reason from Aristotle down to Hegel, was a sealed book to him. There lay a unity, a unity of all thought, which far transcended the mere mechanical association of the unthinking members of the Catholic Church; a great spiritual unity by the side of which

[1] "Parochial and Plain Sermons," vol. iii. p. 187.

all sects and denominations shrink into vanity."[1]

From the first an important section of the Tractarians felt itself ill at ease in Anglicanism; logically and temperamentally Rome was its goal. For men of this temper Rome meant Rome at its most Roman. "We can have no sympathy with the Gallican party, so far as it is at issue with Ultramontanism," said their organ:[2] and Bishop Thirlwall remarks that "these modern proselytes to Romanism have rushed into an extreme from which many of the most sincere, pious, and enlightened members of that communion have shrunk."[3] Lingard thought that the converts talked "as if they were all old women or lunatics," and found their writings "inconceivably lengthy and tiresome."[4] Here was the European as opposed to the provincial English outlook. The latter still survives in much of our own neo-Anglicanism: the wisdom of Leo XIII. and the moderation of the present Pontiff are less to its mind than the anti-modernist follies of Pius X.

The seceders to Rome retained their place in the larger movement. The most important were Newman and Manning. Each was a

[1] "Memoirs," Mark Pattison, p. 211.
[2] *The British Critic*, No. lx.
[3] Charge of 1845.
[4] "Life and Letters of Lingard," ch. xiv.

notable personality, a figure with which no Anglican ecclesiastic of the time could compare. And each influenced not the Anglo-Roman communion only—perhaps not even chiefly; but the religious development of the time. They came to the English Catholic body at a moment when, owing to the Irish immigration, it was driven to enlarge its bounds. This material increase was accompanied and enhanced by the prestige of the convert movement: the union of the two transformed what had been a small and obscure community into a Church which has become a power, if not in intellectual, certainly in political and social life. Never were two men more dissimilar; two temperaments, the inward- and the outward-looking, more opposed. The English Church has been reproached with not having known how to use Newman. Such men are not used easily by any Church. Certainly that of his adoption failed to find a place for him; for a generation he was an embarrassment in England and a suspect at Rome. He complained of the "ignorance, narrowness of mind, and self-conceit" of his co-religionists; "Catholics in England from their very blindness cannot see that they are blind."[1] Their whole ἦθος and temper were antagonistic to him. *Incidit in*

[1] "Life and Letters of J. H. Newman." W. Ward, vol. i. pp. 578, 584.

latrones;[1] he was not of that world. And, if we feel that the bondage under which he chafed was self-chosen, and one from which he could have freed himself, we may remember that a man is often his own gaoler, and that the tyrannies from which escape is most difficult are those imposed not from without but from within. But, whatever his relation to the Churches, his services to religion were great. He liberalized, as good men do, with years: in the sagacious and moderate Newman of 1870 it is difficult to recognize the fierce obscurantist party leader of 1845. The former is the Newman whom we know. His elevation to the Cardinalate by Leo XIII. (1879) was the recognition of a more than ecclesiastical reputation. If, more than any one other man, he made the legend of modern Romanism—for, like the pious sons of Noah, he went backwards, and threw a veil over its shame—he did much to open to men of good will, irrespective of sect, the ideal vistas of religion, seeing, and enabling others to see, the ladder of Bethel, which, though clouds and darkness which we may not pierce lie between them, unites heaven and earth. Those who come under his influence are likely to go beyond his personal standpoint. This was time-and-place stuff: it is difficult to imagine a better "Preservative against Popery" or a

[1] "He fell among thieves," Luke x. 30.

more convincing argument against secession than Mr. Ward's admirable Life of this great teacher and eminent man.

Manning's best years were spent in the pursuit of the chimaera of Infallibility; and at the Vatican Council the definition for which he had fought so long and so unscrupulously was imposed upon the Church. But, with it, leanness entered into his soul. His last days were as disillusionised as those of his greater rival; and, perhaps to a greater extent, he "put away childish things." When, on the death of Pius IX., his influence at Rome came to an end, he devoted himself to social service. On this ground his finer qualities had freer play. And here he ranks with General Booth and Lord Shaftesbury; no man of his generation did more to restore the credit of religion with the masses than he. As a philanthropist he left a very noble record. It is one of the paradoxes of history that the best and most lasting work of each of the two great English Cardinals was done outside the limits of the Church of which he was a prince, and has left its mark rather on those without than on those within the Roman fold.

Apart from the seceders, the Movement has from the first had two wings; a Right, which professed to fall back from Puritan and Latitudinarian laxity on Anglican tradition; and a Left, which was frankly hostile to the Reformation settlement. To-day the group

system is on the increase. "In the Church of England the word Catholic has at least six different meanings," it has been said; and the relations between the several sections are strained. From 1833 till the Gorham case (1850) the contention was that Tractarian teaching was definitely and exclusively Church teaching; and attempts were made to enforce it by law. When these failed, questions of ceremonial came into prominence; the movement took the ground of the sacristy rather than that of the school. The leaders acted on the defensive. In 1860 Pusey combined with the Evangelicals, then more influential than now, in an attack upon *Essays and Reviews.* The fusion was too unreal to last, and the attack was unsuccessful. The Ritual movement, however, made its way; the older services were wearisome and unaesthetic; and with the death of Archbishop Tait the period of repression closed. A feature of the present situation is the disappearance of the old-fashioned Protestant tradition. Its substance was better than its form, which was often "mean and contemptible." But the growth of critical and historical science during the last half-century has changed the perspective. Theological and religious controversy has become more and more a question between those who do, and those who do not, know—or want to know—the facts.

In the National Church the Movement has

brought about a marked increase of ecclesiasticism. Part of this development only is religious; aesthetic and historical factors came in. The ritual prosecutions, encouraged by the Victorian bishops, defeated their own purpose. Deprivation might have met the case; but the imprisonment of earnest, if wrong-headed, men for the violation of a rubric was felt to be intolerable: there was no proportion between the penalty and the offence. This sense of injustice, combined with clerical *esprit de corps* brought about an alliance between the Ritualists and the old High Churchmen. This combination has taken the shape of a strong Centre, or Church Party—that of the so-called "Good Churchmen"[1]—which, if weak in the country, is strong enough to make its pressure persistently felt on its own ground. In Convocation; in the clerical and mixed assemblies where ecclesiastical policy is framed; in questions of administration and patronage, it is preponderant. It is decorous and business-like, but unintelligent and uninspiring; it rules in its own interests, and with a heavy hand. It has more than one climate: that of the *Guardian* and the *Challenge* differs from that of the *Church Times*. But the moderate section follows the lead of the militant. Its organization has enabled it to impose itself on the bishops, whose first thought is to keep the conflicting

[1] "The Church of England." Canon Watson, p. 244.

elements in the Church together; and through them on successive Governments. For the tendency among politicians, Liberal or Conservative, is to regard the Church as a side issue. There is a feeling that Disestablishment, and a large measure of Disendowment, though not imminent, are probably inevitable; and an inclination to leave the threatened interests a free hand to prepare for the coming change. While no Government wishes to multiply the causes of friction; and the Nonconformists, who are a force in modern Cabinets, incline to Voluntaryism, and dislike State intervention in religious affairs, those who stand outside the compromises imposed by party politics may be disposed to see the matter in a larger light, and to prefer the historical English tradition. For religion is too important a part of civilization to be left to develop itself one-sidedly; the interests of the Church, which are those of the nation, cannot safely be surrendered to a party or exploited for party ends. The majority of the clergy, and an appreciable and energetic minority of the laity, act with the "Good Churchmen." But in the country as a whole they are a negligible quantity: it is on the indifference, not the consent, of the nation that this party relies. The *ἀταραξία*, or insensibility, of public opinion on the subject would satisfy Epicurus: the least happy result of the Oxford Movement has been the

separation which it has brought about between the lay and the clerical mind. The specialized seminary training of the clergy, which was first added to, and is now, from economic as well as religious causes, superseding the more liberal public school and university course, is creating in England the problems which have become familiar in Catholic countries. The temper of our Church Press is that of the continental clerical journalism which Lacordaire describes as "sans mésure, sans science, et sans charité": and, as long as this Press dictates their programme, not all the social and economic Liberalism, which, to their credit, is common amongst advanced Anglicans, will enable them either to avoid or to solve the underlying conflict of ideas.

Certain recent controversies—that in particular relating to the Reservation of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper for purposes of worship—exhibit both the falseness of the position of the Romanizers, and the *ἀνομία*, or lawlessness, to which it gives rise. The old theory of the "Branch Church" has, it seems, been replaced by that of the "Two Provinces." The Provinces of Canterbury and York have got separated, no one appears quite to know how, from the Western Church and the Roman bishop. This is a misfortune. "We cannot set our feet upon the Rock of Peter; but only watch the shadow of Peter passing by, and hope that it may fall on us and heal

us."[1] Meanwhile there is a conflict between two jurisdictions; the one, the Catholic, being supreme; the other, the Anglican, subordinate. So that submission to the latter is contingent. It may be argued to demonstration that this or that belief or ceremony is opposed to the teaching or practice of the Church of England; but this argument is irrelevant. For, *ex hypothesi*, the Church of England cannot disavow Catholic doctrine or usage. And the term Catholic is elastic. "After all the road is very largely Roman:"[2] the content of the notions Roman and Catholic is substantially the same. A Bishop tells us that

> "The English Church cannot rightly alter the present Canon Law on Nullity by herself; she could only do so, if the whole Western Church made the same alteration; she is a part, not the whole."[3]

And what is true in the matter of Divorce is true in other subject matter. It is difficult to see how the separation from Rome, or any of the changes of the Reformation, can be defended from this standpoint. Those who occupy it can but approach the Papacy with the cry of the prodigal—"Father, I have sinned against heaven and before Thee."

[1] "The Church in Bondage." R. A. Knox, p. 24.
[2] "Some Loose Stones." R. A. Knox, p. 217.
[3] "Divorce." By the Bishop of Zanzibar, p. 4.

What may be called the "moderate" Catholic leaders have pointed this out with some asperity. If the claim of the Romanizers be admitted, "the folly and wickedness of remaining in separation from the Roman Church become manifest and monstrous." It is true: but more flies are caught with a spoonful of honey, says St Francis de Sales, than with a barrel of vinegar; here is no savour of "the ointment that ran down even unto Aaron's beard." And, though the logic of the moderates is sound, it stops short where it suits their purpose: were it carried out to its conclusions, it would take them further than they are willing to go.

It may seem to those who regard the Oxford Movement as outsiders that the Anglican authorities are in the plight of Frankenstein; the power which they have called, or at least suffered to come, into existence has escaped their control. Even bishops cannot have it both ways: and, while no one desires to renew the ritual prosecutions of the past generation, in abandoning the standpoint of law, they have cut the ground from under their feet. Thirty years of *laissez-faire* have brought about what is in fact a system of concurrent endowment. Uniformity has become a memory; unity threatens to disappear.

Were the question one of toleration, a solution on congregational lines might be arrived at. The Church is comprehensive; and error

is short-lived; it disappears as knowledge grows. But it is one of incompatible principles and antagonistic civilizations. The freedom of the Church, as our irreconcilables understand it, is freedom to exclude opponents. They are not satisfied to regard the Church of England as "a Reformed Church whose formularies were designedly framed in such a way as to include Catholics":[1] for them she is a Catholic Church whose formularies were designedly framed in such a way as to exclude Protestants; and to disallow by anticipation critical conclusions which were unknown till three centuries after they had been compiled. This temper is increasingly exhibited: "We are they that ought to speak." And the identity of the Church Party and the Church has been asserted so loudly and with such truculence that it has come to be taken for granted. The suspicion of religious *incivisme* attaches to sanity; and the unwary rider is unseated; for "Issachar is a strong ass." Possibilities of conflict abound: and only, it seems, the entire want of anything like general interest in theological disputes stands between us and the collapse of the existing system. Were this to disappear, it is difficult to see how the Tudor settlement of religion, to which the country owes so much, could continue to hold its own. A French Catholic writer points out the impossible nature of the position.

[1] P. 34.

> "How long will the Ritualist party accept the situation which has been created in the English Church? How long will it be satisfied with being 'tolerated' by men whose opinions, not only on forms of worship, but on the elementary truths represented by these forms, on the Eucharist, and on the other Sacraments, it looks on as the rankest heresy? . . . It is evident that the falseness of such a position will become day by day more painful and insupportable for men whose sincerity and uprightness of character are beyond question. To judge by their language, they are beginning to become convinced of this." [1]

Thus M. Thureau-Dangin in 1899. Since then the "swelling words" of those immediately concerned have become more swelling, and the impotence of those who hold the place of "him that letteth" more evident. *Spero fore*—I hope it may be so—is M. Thureau-Dangin's answer to the question, Will the Catholic Revival end in Roman Catholicism? He will, perhaps, be found to have underrated the English genius for compromise, the reason latent in unreason, and the atmosphere created, even for those who live outside them, by ideas. *Spero fore:* it is to be hoped that it may be so.

[1] "The English Catholic Revival." P. Thureau-Dangin, ii. p. 599.

VI

THE PRESENT SITUATION

> "O Navis, referent in mare te novi
> Fluctus."
>
> HORACE.

WHEN we look back in middle age from the religious surroundings in which we find ourselves to those in which our youth was passed, we see that a gulf lies between the two. So, at the Reformation, our ancestors must have looked back to the beliefs and practices of their childhood. Their memories of these things were sacred; there was much in them that was tender and gracious: yet "darkness," they must have felt, "was upon the face of the deep." We do not ordinarily advert to this, because such changes come gradually, and we ourselves change with them. But we should be ill at ease were we put back in those old surroundings: our religious life has been as revolutionized as our material; we behold "a new heaven and a new earth." The external change is great. A book like Pugin's "Contrasts"

shows its extent and direction. But the internal is greater. Most of us were brought up on the "Pilgrim's Progress." But how seldom is the uncompromising teaching of that famous book—the total corruption of human nature, the open hell, the substitution theory of the Atonement—heard in the modern pulpit! Such dogmatism as is now popular is ecclesiastical rather than Scriptural; but the foundations of both are out of joint. The Bible is more and more interpreted not by isolated texts, but according to its general tenour, and in view of its historical and religious values. The presence of legend is recognized in the Old Testament, and that of symbolism in the New; while ecclesiastical tradition is sifted and restated with results which are startling to those who attribute them rather to the arbitrariness of critics than to the slow but persistent advance of knowledge. Hence a good deal of ineffectual blowing the trumpet in Zion; from which it is a relief to turn to that lighter vein which identifies mediaevalism in religion with youth, and any attempt at reasonableness, if not with senility, at least with the spiritual obesity of advancing years. That "Jones is sixty" is the *leit-motif* of this last phase of Anglicanism, and has been made the foundation of a whole construction of "Loose Stones."[1] The prerogative of age has been exaggerated

[1] "Some Loose Stones." R. A. Knox, p. 10.

into so grievous a tyranny that one is grateful to any one who calls it in question: that grey hairs do not invariably go with wisdom is true. But neither do the flowing locks of "the young man Absalom": and "if Jones is sixty," it is his misfortune, not his fault. While, when all is said and done, a man is not necessarily a fool at sixty; and he is one occasionally before reaching that unromantic age.

The critical and historical questions which vex integralists are many: and, because the efforts made to repress them have given them a notoriety which they would otherwise not have had, they have come into greater prominence than their importance warrants. Formerly the prehistoric sections of Genesis were the centre of the controversy, or the several strata of the Mosaic legislation; now what is discussed is the extent to which symbolism has been used by the writers of the New Testament, or the Eschatological problem. But in no case has the intervention of criticism been arbitrary or artificial: in each it has been necessitated by the growth of knowledge in its various departments, and more particularly—for this is the *fons et origo mali*—by the study of the Bible itself. There is one way, and only one way, by which Biblical criticism can be crushed: Shut up the Bible; and it will disappear. The experiment has been tried, with complete success. There was no criticism in Rome under Pius V,

or in Spain under Philip II. And indifference may produce similar results.

> "'If there is no Modernism in Belgium,' said Father Tyrrell to a Belgian bishop who congratulated his fellow-countrymen on their freedom from that heresy, 'it may just possibly be because there is so little educated interest in religion among the younger clergy and laity; because they do not know or care enough about it to feel the necessity of bringing it into unity with the rest of their thought and knowledge; and because they never try to translate into living ideas, sacred formulæ which it is a duty to repeat, an irreverence to examine.'"[1]

This state of mind is, indeed, incompatible with criticism: but read, think, interrogate—and criticism is there. And, like all great literature, the Bible is its own criticism. Its most diligent readers are its keenest critics; it goes back upon, and corrects, itself.

A distinguished French writer observes, speaking of the impression left upon him by modern Anglicanism, "La grande Eglise Anglicane me parait avoir été quelque peu pervertie et affaiblie par les germes d'écclésiasticisme et de cléricalisme qui étaient dans le mouvement tractarien."[2] It may well seem

[1] "Mediævalism," G. Tyrrell, p. 33.

[2] M. Albert Houtin.

so; yet there is reason to think that these tendencies are stronger in appearance than in reality. "I believe," says the Dean of St. Paul's, "that the Anglo-Catholic movement has now about reached its height, and that it must soon begin to break up owing to certain internal contradictions which the enthusiasm of its adherents has hitherto masked or ignored."[1] It is five years since this was written, and the contradictions of which the writer speaks are now greater and more threatening. The most recent is that connected with the ministry of women. Whatever may be thought of the woman-preacher, the mediaeval conception of priesthood will not survive the coming of the woman-priest. Others have been ably exhibited in a work entitled "Bishop Gore's Claims; being an Examination of the Bishop's Pamphlet 'Crisis in Church and Nation.'"[2] Technical as is its subject, the book deserves consideration. On its own ground the argument is conclusive; though, were it pursued, it would carry the writers further than they have yet gone. Again the popular sympathies of many of the younger men, and the influence exercised over them by continental Modernism, through which they have become familiar with ideas

[1] *The Churchman*, Feb., 1912.

[2] By Five Priests of the Province of Canterbury. Society of SS. Peter and Paul, Publishers to the Church of England. 1916.

which they would have instinctively repudiated had they met them in the works of Protestant writers, are rapidly separating them from the traditions of the Oxford School. "Lux Mundi" is said to have been Liddon's death blow. What would he have thought of "Foundations"? or of Mr Raven's "What think ye of Christ?" or of "Faith, or Fear"?

It has been hoped by some, and feared by others, that the present war would be followed by a strong religious reaction, as was the case with the long French war 1793–1815. But the circumstances are too dissimilar to establish a parallel, and the signs, so far as we can estimate them, look the other way. This is not to be regretted. It is probable that the best elements of religion and the brightest hopes for its future are to be found outside the Churches. We see this plainly in the case of Latin and Greek Christianity. We have much to learn from the traditional religious observance of the Latin races, and from their conception of religion as a social bond; but we have little to learn from Romanism. There is much to inspire us in the adventurous idealism of Slav piety; little in the petrified Orthodoxy of the Russian Church. And perhaps what is finest in English religion is at work less in our churches and chapels than on the plains of Flanders and on the North Sea. In particular, the conception of Christianity known as Catholicism—which is

not found only among Catholics—the distinctive note of which is the apotheosis of tradition, is passing away before our eyes. Its elements of value, which, because it has been so long and so intimately connected with human history, are many and great, will be retained. But the days of the system, as we have known it, are numbered, because the tradition for which it stands is undermined. Our generation has no more important task than that of collecting and utilizing these "fragments that remain—that nothing be lost." The fallacy of Liberalism has been to suppose that this can be done exclusively, or even mainly, on intellectual grounds and by intellectual methods. It is not so. Suggestion must be met by suggestion, romance by romance. For no error was ever dispelled by logic; to disprove is not to dispel. "Les vérités découvertes par l'intelligence démeurent stériles," the first of living critics reminds us. "Le cœur est seul capable de féconder ses rêves."[1] The scientific reason for this is that

> "Man is primarily a being of emotions and feelings, and in that region we must seek explanations of his behaviour. He is only secondarily an intellectual being; both his intellect and knowledge are exceedingly superficial biologically, and of very late

[1] "Les Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard." Anatole France, p. 288.

appearance in evolution. They are not rooted in his constitution, as are his emotions; and they are of incomparably less weight in determining either his beliefs or his conduct."[1]

In estimating the forces of progress it is difficult to strike the balance between past and present. There is more of what is called Liberalism in the Church and among the clergy than there was a generation ago; on the other hand, the public opinion which stood behind the older Liberalism, and gave men like Stanley and Jowett an assured position, has to a great extent disappeared. The independent organs of intelligence—the quarterlies, and the principal monthly and weekly reviews—deal with religious questions adequately and with understanding. The attitude of the more widely circulated journals which rather reflect than make opinion is less detached. They approach the Church Party, like Agag, delicately, and bow themselves in the House of Rimmon with the air of devotees. The element of make-believe is obvious; but these journals know their public—it is their business to do so—and their changed attitude shows the extent to which the wind has changed. Pattison used to say that his books escaped unintelligent criticism, because, not being directly theological, they were not sent

[1] "Herbert Spencer," by Hugh Elliot, p. 185.

out to clerical reviewers. It may be doubtful whether, even so, they would have been exempt to-day.

This amateur and not very effectual revival of clericalism dates roughly from the death of Archbishop Tait (1882). This able man, the one statesman who has occupied the Metropolitan See since the Revolution of 1688, was the last prominent Churchman to accentuate the national character of the Church. Since then the denominational idea has replaced the national, and this shifting of the centre of gravity has brought about an artificial and mischievous opposition between conceptions in themselves one. "With us the unhappy fusion of Church and State brought about a situation in which the Church was hardly recognized as having any authority apart from the State," says the Bishop of Oxford.[1] The word Church is ambiguous; but where it is used, as here, in contrast to State, it stands for an independent society, an *imperium in imperio*, speaking through its official hierarchy, and possessing legislative and coercive jurisdiction.

> "The New Testament presents us with a picture, which later Church history only elaborates, of a corporate body, legislating for its members with a divine sanction. The normal Christian is a man under

[1] "The Religion of the Church," p. 120.

> authority—the authority of the body he belongs to. In his whole life he ought to feel this corporate authority, and he ought to recognize in detail 'the precepts of the Church.'"[1]

This conception of the Church is familiar in history, and it is not peculiar to Catholicism. The Presbyterians of the Commonwealth held it; and it made Presbyterianism impossible in England—the Englishman being an Erastian born. Should Anglicanism adopt it, Anglicanism would become as impossible. The political genius of English Christianity may be trusted in any case to avoid the snare.

The theory was taken over by Calvinism from the mediaeval Church, and is reduced to formal completeness in Ultramontanism.

> "Those rites and those doctrines which have made most noise in the Romanist controversy are those which are the least of the essence of Romanism. The Virgin and the Saints, Reliques, Images, Purgatory, and Masses—these bywords with the vulgar and the unthinking, are powerless decorations or natural developments. The one essential principle of the Catholic system is the control of the individual conscience by an authority, or law, placed without it, and exercised over it by men assuming to act in the name of Heaven."[2]

[1] *Ibidem*, p. 119.
[2] M. Pattison, "Essays," ii. 255.

A greater body exercises a certain attraction over a lesser, which is drawn into its orbit. Pattison believed that this force of gravitation was influencing German as well as English Protestantism; and his words, written in 1857, seem prophetic to-day.

> "A system identical in principle with that of Catholicism is to be established at Berlin, for the use and oppression of Prussia. Religion is to sanction and consecrate the bureaucratic absolutism of North Germany. Instead of a mere State Church supported by power, the deeper theology of Young Lutheranism will base the 'Throne' upon a religious doctrine constructed expressly in the interests of 'Order.'" [1]

In England these tendencies have taken another direction. They have not crushed the individual citizen under the weight of "that great Leviathan called the Commonwealth," of which the philosopher tells us that it "is but an artificial man, though of greater stature and strength than the natural." [2] But they have succeeded better than could be wished in creating a separation between civil and religious society, and in isolating religion from life and mind. We do not now beat Sosthenes; we make him a bishop. But Gallio still cares for none of these things. And it is

[1] M. Pattison, "Essays," p. 258.
[2] Hobbes, "Leviathan," Introduction.

from another quarter that light comes. It was not from a bishop, but from the Encyclopaedist Diderot that the magnificent cry came, "Détruisez ces enceintes qui rétrécissent vos idées! Élargissez Dieu!"[1]

Perhaps the most hopeful feature in the present situation is the sense of social and economic readjustment that is in the air. Here, though the movement is carried on by Christians of all schools and denominations, the advanced Anglicans have done excellent work. A reform of theology which is critical and speculative only has, and deserves to have, no future: life is a whole. In our own time this is becoming increasingly evident. For many of our conventions, political and economic as well as religious, have ceased to express any real values, any ideas that are worth expressing. We have been dimly conscious of this; but we have put the thought away, because, threadbare as they were, these conventions worked with less friction than might have been expected, and because there was nothing very obvious to put in their place. The war has changed the position. They will not in future work without friction; and there is something obvious to put in their place. Or, if there is not, the sooner we find it the better: if we do not, others will. I shall not trespass

[1] "Pensées Philosophiques," 26. "Break down the barriers which narrow your conceptions; set God free."

on economics; this is the economist's affair. But history shows that a disbanded soldiery acts as a leaven in the community to which it returns. Our soldiers are not likely to acquiesce in pre-war conditions; or to fall back upon a hand-to-mouth existence on the uncertain margin of civilization. They ought not to, and will not, do so; and it is foolish to expect that they will. For all of us, indeed, particular and local standards are passing over into universal; and the great questions both of life and of the age are presenting themselves with an importunity which will tolerate neither evasion nor delay. The State and the Church—which are in the last resort one—civil and religious society alike—must meet them; an at least provisional solution, moving on the lines of actual thought and life, must be found. This, or a breakdown of civilization: the choice is between the two.

Nothing in the present state either of the Church or of Society indicates a revival of institutional religion among us. To men of a certain temperament religion, in this sense of the word, appeals, and will always appeal, strongly; to those differently constituted it appeals little, or not at all. This decline of religious observance is common to all Churches, countries, and classes; it is a feature of modern life. It cannot be ascribed only to the perversity of human nature; this would be to take a part for the whole cause. Human

nature is a mixed magnitude; its direction is determined by elements which act and re-act upon one another, and cannot be brought under any one head. Is not an important factor in the present situation this?—that we are falling back from certain passing reactions —the Evangelical and the Tractarian—which, when every allowance has been made for their intentions and their merits, deflected the course of the Church and derailed her from the lines of advance marked out by her genius and history; and are falling back on our normal position on the curve of religious development? Eighteenth-century religion has been depicted by those who had an interest in disparaging it. Too much has been made of its alleged rationalism: rationalism is a method, not a doctrine; and "the defect of eighteenth-century theology was not in having too much good sense, but in having nothing besides."

The distinctive vehicle of religion is indeed not good sense, but feeling; no merely intellectual formula has ever moved the deeper convictions of mankind. But thought, though it is not religion, is an essential element in religion. A generation has passed since Pattison complained that "in the present day a godless orthodoxy threatens, as in the fifteenth century, to extinguish religious thought altogether"; and that "nothing is allowed in the Church of England but the formulae of past thinkings, which have long lost all

sense of any kind."[1] It is a refreshment to look back to a time when it was not so. The vigorous piety of Johnson need not fear comparison with the *petites dévotions* of the Movements; Butler's "Fifteen Sermons upon Human Nature" are as cogent on their own ground now as when they were written; and Paley's "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy" compare favourably with ethical treatises of a later time. The religion of these writers was reasonable; but it was also Christian: for them the rational and the Christian were, in the last resort, one. The succeeding age separated them: out of a distinction valid for thought only, it built up one which it professed to find in things. It was not there. There is a difference of emphasis and accent, to overlook which is to land ourselves in a somewhat arid intellectualism, and to miss those moments of exaltation which reveal to us

> "The light that never was, on sea or land;
> The consecration, and the Poet's dream."

But there are no two orders of truth; the real is the rational and the rational is the real. And, whatever it may be over and above this, Christianity is a re-publication, re-statement, and re-inforcement of the dictates of Reason—the word being taken in the larger sense: we must follow truth, the philosopher reminds us

[1] "Essays and Reviews," p. 297.

"with the whole man." Hence its power of development; it grows as Reason grows. And any interpretation of religion, however plausible, which is in conflict with Reason, or with the institutions in which Reason embodies itself,—Society, the State, the Law—is self-refuted. The eighteenth century, which was "an age of light," saw this more clearly than the nineteenth, which, in religion, was an age of reaction. The twentieth must get back to a more serene air.

In 1788 Paley described the purpose of the Christian scholar as being—

> "to recover the simplicity of the Gospel from beneath that load of unauthorized additions which the ignorance of some ages, and the learning of others, the superstition of weak and the craft of designing men have (unhappily for its interest) heaped upon it. Whatever renders religion more rational, renders it more credible; and he who, by a diligent and faithful examination of the original records, dismisses from the system one article which contradicts the experience, the apprehension, and the reasoning of mankind, does more towards recommending the belief, and with the belief the influence, of Christianity to the understandings and consciences of serious inquirers, and through them to universal reception and authority, than can be effected by a thousand contenders for creeds and ordinances of human establishment."

He proceeds to give a notable example.

> "When the doctrine of Transubstantiation had taken possession of the Christian world, it was not without the industry of learned men that it came to be discovered that no such doctrine was contained in the New Testament. But had these excellent persons done nothing more by their discovery than abolished an innocent superstition, or changed some directions in the ceremonial of public worship, they had merited little of that veneration with which the gratitude of Protestant Churches remembers their services. What they did for mankind was this: *they exonerated Christianity of a weight which sunk it.* If indolence, or timidity had checked these exertions, or suppressed the fruit and publication of these enquiries, is it too much to affirm that infidelity would at this day have been universal?"

And he concludes with a reflection which is less out of date than could be wished.

> "At a time when some men appear not to perceive any good, and others to suspect an evil tendency, in that spirit of examination and research which is gone forth in Christian countries, this testimony is become due to the general cause of intellectual and religious liberty."[4]

Where religion is presented in this reasonable temper the element of worship will not

[1] "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy." Dedication.

be wanting to it: reason finds expression in institutions and feeling in sacraments, because in men spiritual life is embodied in sensible presentations and moves on sensible lines. The reason why institutional religion has lost, and is losing, ground, is not because it is institutional, but because the institutions in which it is embodied have to so great an extent ceased to express actual values or to possess actual significance. Institutions, like the Sabbath, were made for men: and the City of Vision has twelve gates. Some will enter in most easily from the silence of the Friends' Meeting; others from the "joyful noise" of the Salvationists; some from the dignified repose of an English Cathedral service; some from the incense-laden atmosphere of the basilica. Does it matter, so long as they enter, *how* they enter? For unity may exist without uniformity, as uniformity can, and does, without unity. The one is a temper,—the other a regulation. And the unity for which Christ prayed for His followers is not an artificial identity of formula or usage imposed by terrorism and maintained by fear or custom: it is something on another plane and of a higher order—"the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of peace."

"They speak perhaps more truly than they know who tell us that for the English Church the time in which we live is critical; that she has come to the parting of the ways. For the

larger call is in her ears: she may hear it, and follow; or she may be deaf to it, and refrain. In other words, she may resign herself to the distinctive and denominational position of a mere Anglicanism, or she may rise to her higher calling, and stand for English Christianity as a whole. In the former case, "Abide ye here with the ass" will be her programme. It is a poor one. She will rest on her past; she will appeal to the stationary elements of society—the unthinking, the unintelligent, those who for one reason or another stand outside the main stream of life. She may continue for a time to influence the imagination and sentiment of a section of the nation; she will probably approximate more and more to mediaeval doctrine and ceremonial; by her claim, disputable as it is, to be (in the sectarian sense of the word) Catholic, she may retain a handful of enthusiasts whose natural gravitation is towards Rome. But this road leads nowhere. A Church which takes it may be long in dying, but is on the road to die. In the other case, a great, a very great, destiny awaits her—the furtherance of the religious life of the English people at home and beyond the seas. Her characteristic "Via Media" is not, and is not likely to become, a middle term between Rome and Protestantism; the changes that are taking place in Latin Christendom do not look her way. But, "reformed the least" of the Reformed Churches,

and inheriting the political genius of the nation to which she owes her distinctive features, she may unite for her own people the best elements both of the old order and of the new. Should it be so, it is not England only that will be the gainer; the "vasti luminis orae" will receive increase."[1]

[1] "Studies in Modernism," p. 445. A. Fawkes.

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